Hybrid Zones: Representations of Race in Late Nineteenth-Century French Visual Culture

By

Rozanne McGrew Stringer

Submitted to the graduate degree program in the Kress Foundation Department of Art History and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Professor Marni R. Kessler, Chairperson

_____

Professor Marilyn R. Brown

_____

Professor David Cateforis

_____

Professor Amy McNair

_____

Professor James Woelfel

Date Defended: April 7, 2011

The Dissertation Committee for Rozanne McGrew Stringer

certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Hybrid Zones: Representations of Race in Late Nineteenth-Century French Visual Culture

_____

Professor Marni R. Kessler, Chairperson

Date approved: April 7, 2011

Abstract

In this study, I examine images of the black female and black male body and the female Spanish Gypsy by four artists – Edgar Degas, Édouard Manet, Frédéric Bazille, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec – that articulate the instability of racial categories and stereotypes assigned to racialized populations by French artists, natural scientists, anthropologists, and writers between 1862 and 1900. Notably, whiteness – made visible and raced – is also implicated in some of the images I analyze. I look closely at the visual stereotype of the seductive, dark-skinned female Spanish Gypsy and the primitive and debased black male, as well as at representations of the abject black female body. I also consider the construction of "whiteness" as an unfixed and complex notion of French identity, particularly as it applies to the bourgeois white female body.

I analyze images in which representations of racial identity seem unproblematic, but I show that these images articulate a host of uncertainties. I contextualize each image through analyses of nineteenth-century French representations of the black person and Spanish Gypsy by modernist and academic artists, nineteenth-century racialist science, French fiction and periodicals, and entertainment spectacles such as the circus and human zoos. My methodology draws primarily on formalism, social history, and postcolonial and feminist theory.

In my examination of representations of racial difference in late nineteenth-century French visual culture, I investigate images of racialized bodies specifically through the lens of hybridity, a term employed by nineteenth-century biologists and natural scientists to define the intermixing of races and cultures. The fascination with and fear of hybrid races increasingly dominated the discourses on racial hierarchies and classifications. I explore nineteenth-century notions of racial hybridity through the emerging science of anthropology, but I also expand my study to interrogate

hybridity as the cross-fertilization of cultures and identity. I consider how these images expand and problematize the meaning of hybridity and its antithetical concept of racial purity. I also demonstrate the paradoxical correspondence and oscillation between the racial stereotype and the culturally dominant power responsible for the stereotype's creation and perpetuation. My study seeks to illuminate what I see as the hybridity and heterogeneity of racial identity, for the person of color as well as for the "white" European, discretely and subtly disclosed in these images.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank a number of individuals and institutions whose support greatly contributed to the completion of this dissertation. I am indebted to the Kress Foundation Department of Art History and the Humanities and Western Civilization Program at the University of Kansas for teaching appointments while I pursued my degree. The University of Kansas also provided funding for research in France and at museums in the United States. I am extremely grateful to the Kress Foundation Department of Art History for the Tim Mitchell Memorial Art History Award; the Hall Center for the Humanities for the Andrew Debicki International Travel Scholarship in the Humanities; and the Humanities and Western Civilization Program for the Ted Johnson Interrelations of the Humanities and the Arts Award.

My research was facilitated by the gracious assistance of the curatorial and library staffs of the Musée Fabre, Montpellier; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; Princeton University Art Museum; the Herbert D. and Ruth Schimmel Rare Book Library, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University; the Département des Estampes et de la photographie and Département des Arts du spectacle, Bibliothéque nationale de France; and the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

I wish to thank these museums for their generosity in providing me the right to reproduce images from their collections: the Art Institute of Chicago; Foundation E.G. Bührle Collection, Zurich; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts; the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; Princeton University Art Museum; and Yale University Art Gallery.

My dissertation committee provided insightful analysis of my work at critical points. I am grateful to Marni R. Kessler, Marilyn R. Brown, David Cateforis, Amy McNair, and James Woelfel for their thoughtful and discerning consideration of my work and the beneficial suggestions they offered. I was fortunate to work with Marilyn R. Brown whose scholarship on the Gypsy and bohemian in nineteenth-century French visual and literary culture was and continues to be an invaluable resource for me. During my doctoral studies at the University of Kansas, I benefited greatly from coursework with David Cateforis, Amy McNair, and Linda Stone-Ferrier. Their seminars were intellectually enriching and shaped my critical thinking. I thank them for their continuing interest in my work and progress. My teaching appointment in the Humanities and Western Civilization Program, directed by James Woelfel, provided me with the opportunity to work with faculty in philosophy, history, European studies, and religious studies as well as with graduate instructors from a number of disciplines. I profited immensely from these exchanges.

I am profoundly indebted to Marni R. Kessler who advised and directed my dissertation. Her teaching and scholarship remain models for my work. I appreciated her enthusiastic support for my dissertation topic and our conversations guided me to formulate the questions and issues that have been the focus of my project. Her advice on ways to approach the complexities and ambiguities associated with the images I selected for the dissertation helped me move my inquiries from abstract concepts to fully realized chapters. I am also very grateful for her perceptive analysis of my written work and the constructive feedback that helped me strengthen my arguments. I am a better researcher and writer because of her attention to all aspects of my work.

Family and friends played a large role in keeping me focused and motivated. The friendship of MaryAnn Cameron, Ursula Clark, Margaret Garrison, Ann Hager, Glenda Koch, Jeff Mack, Ginny Olson, Ruby Shade, and Doretha Williams kept me going throughout the phases of this project. My parents, Pauline and Charles McGrew, my sisters, Diane, Paula, Karen, and Sue, and my brother, Chuck McGrew, always cheered me on and cheered me up and I am very grateful for their love and encouragement. Throughout this journey, my husband, Dave Stringer, offered unwavering support and love. I dedicate this work to him with my enduring respect and affection.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The juxtaposition of a black woman and white woman in Frédéric Bazille's canvas, *La Toilette* [Figure 1], 1870, at first glance seems to uphold normative nineteenth-century conceptions about the separation and hierarchization of the races. The semi-nude kneeling black woman, attired only in a headscarf and multi-colored striped skirt, attends to the seated light-skinned female nude who is placed at the center of the composition. Standing to the left of the seated nude is a second female servant with dark eyes and hair, and a sallow complexion. Surprisingly, it is the interchange between the kneeling and seated women that especially commands the viewer's attention. While one might expect to see the white woman depicted as the principal focus of the pairing, her body is rendered as a limp and generalized form. Yet, the body of the black woman is depicted with specificity and not reduced to a racialized type. Indeed, the skin coloration of the seated female nude in Bazille's image could be characterized as "blank" whiteness[1] while Bazille imparts an unexpected radiance to the black woman's skin. Bazille composed the flesh tones of the seated nude woman from a palette of analogous icy whites which contrasts markedly with the array of luminous hues – warm browns, copper, orange, pink, and plum – with which he painted the black woman's skin. In formal terms, Bazille painted the image of a black woman that was at odds with established social and pictorial traditions by suggesting an aestheticized and a particularized black female body.

Bazille's image of the black female body in *La Toilette* is situated at an intersection between mid- to late nineteenth-century French scientific models that established the strategies

[1] This term is used by Steven Connor in *The Book of Skin* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 161, to describe the dichotomous qualities of 'pure' white skin. He writes: "Words like 'blank' and 'bland' which derive from the French 'blanc', evoke a skin which is both present and absent, in the field of vision, yet featureless, visible as invisible …"

of defining racial and hierarchical difference and the visual representation of race. Certainly, artists employed multiple strategies for visualizing racial difference during the second half of the nineteenth century, but many producers of visual culture subscribed to the ideology that essential differences separated the human races. In this dissertation, I will show how signs of racial difference in images by Frédéric Bazille, Edgar Degas, Édouard Manet, and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec evoke ambivalence toward racial identity. I explore how fluid notions of race in late nineteenth-century France are unexpectedly disclosed in these works.

In my examination of representations of constructions of race[2] in late nineteenth-century French visual culture, I have chosen to investigate images of racialized bodies specifically through the lens of hybridity, a term employed by nineteenth-century biologists, natural scientists, and most notably by contemporary cultural historian and postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha to define the intermixing of races and cultures. The fascination with and fear of hybrid races increasingly dominated the nineteenth-century discourse about racial hierarchies and classifications. The images I have selected expand and problematize the notion of hybridity and its antithetical concept of racial purity. "Hybridity … makes difference into sameness, and sameness into difference, but in a way that makes the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different,"[3] writes Robert J.

---

[2] In the nineteenth century, the concept of race was understood to signify separate and distinct groups of human beings who shared similar physical characteristics. For much of the century, racial theorists and scientists attempted to sustain the claim that separate and pure races existed, but after the middle of the century, anthropologists conceded that the physical evidence could not support that assertion. French anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830-1911) suggested that the term "type" was more relevant than "race" because all human races had experienced intermixing. See Topinard, *Anthropology*, translation of *L'anthropologie*, 1876, trans. Robert T. H. Bartley (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890), 442-447. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., in "Writing 'Race' and the Difference It Makes" in *"Race," Writing, and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 1-20, explores the myriad racial metaphors in literary studies. Gates writes "Race is the ultimate trope of difference because it is so very arbitrary in its application" (5). Of course, I agree with Gates that the definition of "race" has been/is subjective. However, in my dissertation, I primarily use the term "race" as it was applied by nineteenth-century French racial science to classify human beings according to biological distinctions.

[3] Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), 26. Young is among postcolonial theorists who have expressed disagreement with Bhabha's theorization of hybridization and have criticized Bhabha for his a-historical and Utopian approach. In *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), 187, Young writes: "Bhabha does not in any sense offer a

C. Young in *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. Young distinguishes biological hybridity – inter-racial mixing that produces heterogeneous offspring – from cultural hybridity, which he argues is transformative and irrevocably alters the physical, spatial, and metaphorical separation of two discrete entities. I will explore the concept of hybrid zones as sites where boundaries between absolute difference and sameness are effaced, and contact and interaction result in shifts of identity that dismantle the sense of racial or cultural exclusivity and authenticity.

In this study, I employ both the literal and metaphorical notions of hybridity. Since the requisite for biological hybridity is the intermixing of distinct "races," my dissertation focuses on racialized populations with which the French had significant contact in the nineteenth century: Negroes[4] and Gypsies.[5] I also interrogate what constituted "whiteness" for the French in the second half of the nineteenth century and how visual culture inscribed, indeed participated in creating, unstable and fluid designations of racial difference for populations of color as well for the "white" European. My dissertation examines images of the black female and black male body and the female

---

history of colonial discourse, nor even a simple historical account of it – for such historicization marks the very basis of the Europeanizing claims he is trying to invert." Also see David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha* (London: Routledge, 2006), 149-169, for critical responses to Bhabha's theory of hybridization and colonial discourse.

[4] While this term is rarely used in American English or applied to American blacks today, I employ it because of its widespread usage and meaning during the nineteenth century. In the nomenclature of race, *noir* designated a free black person, while *nègre* was associated with French colonial slaves. Pierre Larousse in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* defined *Nègre* as "strictly spoken of blacks of African origin, and associated with the idea of color are servitude, forced labor, [and] an almost savage state." ("*Nègre* se dit proprement des noirs originaires de l'Afrique, et il ajoute ordinairement à l'idée de couleur celle de la servitude, du travail forcé, de l'état presque sauvage.") See *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* t. 16 (1860-1890, repr., Nîmes, Gard: C. Lacour, 1990), 903. Larousse, t. 16, p. 1052, does not explicitly refer to slavery when defining the *noir*. He concisely describes the *noir* as "[t]hose who belong to the Negro race." ("Qui appartient à la race *nègres*.") Within my dissertation, I will use Negro/*nègre* interchangeably with black, African-Caribbean and North and West African. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from French are mine.

[5] The term "Gypsy" has been employed as a racialized category since the seventeenth century to define dark-skinned populations who speak the Romani language. A mostly fictitious and romantic history was created to explain the origins of the Gypsies and their arrival in Europe. Forced into exile from India because of their pariah caste sometime between the fifth and tenth centuries CE, Gypsies made their way westward to Europe via two routes. A northern route led from India to Central Europe and the region known as Bohemia. A second group of Indian Pariahs traveled to the Mediterranean and ultimately settled in Egypt and North Africa from where, in the fifteenth century, they migrated to Spain. My dissertation will focus on the Spanish Gypsy, the *Gitano/a*.

Spanish Gypsy by Degas, Manet, Bazille, and Toulouse-Lautrec that expose the unreliability of racist ideologies and articulate the instability of racial categories and stereotypes assigned to racialized populations by many French artists, natural scientists, anthropologists, and writers between 1860 and 1900. I investigate nineteenth-century notions about racial hybridity through the lens of biology and ethnology, but I also expand my study to interrogate hybridity as the cross-fertilization of cultures and identity.

I examine how French representations of the African Caribbean, North and West African black, and Spanish Gypsies visually expressed the anxieties about and fascination with the growing numbers of non-white populations living in France. Colonial expansion in the West Indies and Africa resulted in unions between French colonists and colonized women and the offspring of these inter-racial relationships elicited concerns about the degradation of the white race and civilization. Within their nation's borders, the French viewed immigrant populations of blacks from their colonies and itinerant Spanish Gypsies – deemed ethnically distinct from Europeans – with suspicion, derision, *and* desire. The Negro and Gypsy were simultaneously marked as overtly sexual, primitive, and intellectually inferior. Although the French established a racial hierarchy that affirmed Europeans superior to non-white races, colonialism and immigration inevitably contributed to the dissolution of precise racial boundaries. My dissertation considers the areas where the dominant culture and its perceived inferior intersect and how artists represented those "in-between"[6] states of racial and cultural identity.

[6] I borrow a term used by Homi K. Bhabha in "Interrogating Identity: Frantz Fanon and the Postcolonial Prerogative," *The Location of Culture* (1994; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 85: "However, what is implicit in … concepts of the subaltern, as I read it, is a strategy of ambivalence in the structure of identification that occurs precisely in the elliptical *in-between*, where the shadow of the other falls upon the self."

The Racial Landscape in Nineteenth-Century France

Throughout the nineteenth century, France's relationship with its colonized populations and slaves can be characterized as contradictory and conflicted. Early in the century, France's imperial aspirations turned from the West Indies to Africa. Algeria was conquered in 1830, and after 1871, France's imperial designs for expansion were directed at regions of North, West, and equatorial Africa. France rationalized its economic and political gains at the expense of its oppressive treatment of indigenous colonial populations and the African slaves that were sold as agricultural laborers to colonial plantation owners in the West Indies. Alice L. Conklin argues that colonialism was justified on moral grounds as an effort to civilize colonial populations and emancipate them from internal despotism.[7] France also assuaged its culpability in the slave trade by proclaiming that slavery was not condoned in France, it was only sanctioned in French colonies.[8] Reasoned, pragmatic, and compassionate arguments advocating for the abolition of the French slave trade and slavery in French colonies were voiced between the French Revolution and 1848, when after earlier attempts, slavery was abolished once and for all in the French empire. Thus France was no longer hindered by the moral debate over abolition.[9] With developments in ethnology and, particularly, physical anthropology after mid-century, the subsequent discourses on the status and treatment of former slaves and people of color in France and French colonies shifted decidedly from humanitarian concerns and the legacy of

[7] Alice L. Conklin, "Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895-1914," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 419-442.

[8] For an analysis of this irony, see Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[9] William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980). Cohen's book remains a standard text on the scientific, cultural, and socio-historical contexts for racial theory that culminated during the Third Republic. On slavery, see "The Issue of Slavery," 130-154, and "The Nineteenth Century Confronts Slavery," 181-209.

Enlightenment humanism and universalism[10] – the belief that all human beings possessed the potential for improvement – to the determinism of "racial science."[11]

Until the latter part of the eighteenth century, monogenism, the belief that human beings shared a common origin, prevailed in Western natural history. Physical differences among races were frequently attributed to the environment, climate, and humoral theory.[12] For much of the nineteenth-century, skin color and physiognomy represented, for the most part, the key somatic differences between races. By the middle of the nineteenth century, anatomists and anthropologists explained human diversity through the concept of "biological racism," in which intelligence, beauty, and the individual's moral nature were also believed to be biologically determined. Aided by anthropometry, which seemed to offer incontrovertible evidence of distinct physical characteristics and intellectual aptitudes among "races," many scientists of race accepted the doctrine of polygenism: the affirmation of separate origins for the different races.[13] Science now promoted a comparative model of comprehensive measurement, classification, and categorization of human beings.

The results of sustained efforts to measure and compare human bodies quantitatively and qualitatively appeared to place blacks conclusively at the bottom of the racial hierarchical scale. Moreover, certain anatomical traits were further exploited to characterize blacks (and other dark-

---

[10] Kenan Malik in *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 49, discusses the eighteenth-century "belief in the unity of humanity and the equality of Man." Malik's text also examines the seeds of racism in late eighteenth-century philosophical and political thought. See "The Social Limits to Equality," 38-70.

[11] Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), 4. Stepan's book is devoted to the history of scientific theory seeking to explain racial difference in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain, particularly the adoption of polygenism and the rejection of monogenism by the mid-nineteenth century. Because of the parallel reliance in French racial theory on biology to underscore racial difference, Stepan's text provides useful background.

[12] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 24-33. Also see Stepan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960*, 29-35.

[13] See Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, 33-37, for her discussion of the transition from eighteenth-century monogenism to nineteenth-century polygenism.

skinned populations) as brutal, lazy, infantile, and sexualized beings.[14] Cultural historian and racial theorist Arthur de Gobineau claimed in the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines,* 1853-1855, along with many contemporary scientific treatises, that "the Negroid variety is the lowest, and stands at the foot of the ladder."[15] But, more significantly, in the *Essai*, Gobineau framed his assessment of European cultures and non-white races around the current notion of biological hybridity and warned of the imminent demise of European civilization because of the extent to which miscegenation had adulterated European blood. This threat to European superiority was exploited in the late nineteenth century to support racist attitudes.[16]

If the majority of the French public remained complacent or simply unaware of the racialist scientific and cultural debates to which Gobineau contributed, a growing number of literary works and images that mirrored Gobineau's and other theorists' racialist views were available for public consumption. Travel journals, popular science periodicals, fictional literature, and visual culture portrayed a fascination with the lurid sexual and violent behavior associated with dark-skinned people, particularly the African-Caribbean, African, and Gypsy.[17] The stereotyping of dark-skinned women and men, racially pure or mixed, as primitive and sexually aggressive in the work of writers

---

[14] A few of the texts that explore this stereotyping are Pascal Blanchard, Éric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris noir* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2001), 16-21; Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*, 293-301; Sander L. Gilman, "The Hottentot and the Prostitute: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality," in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 76-102; and Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans*: *White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880,* 238-248.

[15] Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967), 205. Originally published as *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1853-1855).

[16] Claude Blanckaert, "Of Monstrous Métis," in *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France,* eds. Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 42-70. Blanckaert traces this fear from the eighteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth century with his analysis of the 1907 study commissioned by the Société d'anthropologie de Paris to determine whether predisposed perceptions against miscegenation were valid.

[17] For example, see Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau, eds., *Images et colonies: iconographie et propagande coloniale sur l'Afrique française de 1880 à 1962* (Nanterre: Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine; Paris: Association Connaissance de l'histoire de l'Afrique contemporaine, 1993); Sylvie Chalaye, *Nègres en images* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002); and Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

such as Victor Hugo, Prosper Mérimée, Charles Baudelaire, and Émile Zola, satisfied the public's appetite for narratives of sexual promiscuity and inter-racial encounters.[18] Pictorial representations of North and sub-Saharan Africans and Spanish Gypsies in the works of celebrated, now canonical artists such as Anne-Louis Girodet, Camille Corot, Eugène Delacroix, and Gustave Courbet during the first half of the century, and Henri Regnault and Jean-Léon Gérôme, as well as now lesser-known painter Alfred Dehodencq, after 1860 also reinforced the stereotypes.

The fascination with people of color also coincided with new modes of marketing for the exotic products that originated in French colonies: bananas, chocolate, coffee, and rum. Posters and trademark images derided the Negro and exaggerated the physical traits that scientists had contrived as signs of biological inferiority. While colonization was justified as a means of civilizing Africans by introducing them to French culture,[19] ironically, at home the French preferred to see images of African primitivism and savagery. The indigenous villages staged at the *Paris Expositions universelles* in 1878 and 1889, for example, represented one type of racialist spectacle as did mock combat between French soldiers and African warriors that played to large audiences at the *Folies-Bergère* in the 1870s and the ethnological displays of Africans at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation de Paris* that were inaugurated in 1877.[20]

---

[18] The correlation between dark skin color and immoral behavior is examined by Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession*; T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus*: *Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); and Sylvie Chalaye, *Du noir au nègre: l'image du noir au théâtre: de Marguerite de Navarre à Jean Genet, 1550-1960* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).

[19] For brief, but insightful, analyses of France's "civilizing mission" as a motivation for their colonial conquests, see Conklin, "Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895-1914," 419-420; and Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 120-121.

[20] Three fine texts that provide the history of these entertainment and anthropological spectacles are Rosalyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); William H. Schneider, "The Ethnographic Exhibitions of the Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Fordick, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); and Michael A. Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

While Negroes were relatively new to the cultural and racial landscape in France, Gypsies who had arrived in France as early as the fifteenth century endured repressive measures to limit their mobility and visibility.[21] From the outset of the nineteenth century, the French government tried repeatedly to repatriate Spanish Gypsies (*Gitanos*) who had crossed the Pyrenées into France.[22] Despite the harsh measures aimed at containing the numbers of *Gitanos* allowed to enter France, an unparalleled interest in Spanish Gypsy lore emerged in nineteenth-century France inspiring writers and artists to travel to Andalusia where the majority of Spain's Gypsies had settled. Widely believed to have originated in India, Spain's Gypsies were thought to have resided in Egypt before they migrated to the Iberian Peninsula.[23]

France's relationship with racialized populations can be characterized as dichotomous throughout the nineteenth century. A progressive and liberal attitude towards the colonized and enslaved endeavored to improve their conditions, yet the institutionalism of racism and the authority of racialist science restrained those humanitarian impulses. The African and Gypsy bodies, regarded as aberrant and markedly different from the white European body, were subjected to methodical analysis by nineteenth-century science to sanction the superiority of the white European. My dissertation examines images by Degas, Manet, Bazille, and Toulouse-Lautrec which, unlike many visual representations of racial difference, tacitly challenged that ideology. I will demonstrate that these artists' depictions of the black male and female and the Spanish Gypsy exhibit ambivalence toward the racialized body: a partial concession to and rejection of stereotyped traits. Significantly, whiteness – made visible and raced – is also implicated in some of the images I analyze.

---

[21] See Wim Willems, "Ethnicity as a Death-Trap: The History of Gypsy Studies," in Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 17-34, on racial and ethnic stereotyping and practices of discrimination.

[22] François de Vaux de Foletier, *Voyages et migrations des Tsiganes en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Ass. des études tsiganes, 1973), 7-27.

[23] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 53-54.

Encounters, Anxieties, and Representations

During the nineteenth century, race dominated much of the critical debate regarding France's global position and right to exploit resources, including its colonial populations in Africa, the South Pacific, the West Indies, and the ethnic minorities living in France. Encounters with non-European cultures and access to anatomical specimens led to comparative anatomical studies that allowed the French scientific community to devise a racial hierarchy in which white stood superior to black, yellow, brown, and red.[24] This assertion was supported by scientific calculations that mapped and qualified the distinctions between races. Paradoxically, the racialist science applied to ethnic populations compelled nineteenth-century racialist theorists to fix meaning and attributes to whiteness as well as to people of color and, that by the end of the century, both whiteness and color had evolved into unstable signifiers of racial and cultural difference. The determinacy of inscribing racial, national, cultural, and sexual identities onto the male and female racialized body – black, brown, as well as white – was implicitly called into question by Degas, Manet, Bazille, and Toulouse-Lautrec in the images I examine.

One could tentatively claim that a work of art in which a conspicuous racial difference is projected onto the body of the Other may seem to support a worldview of European authority. Colonialism and anthropological science sanctioned (indeed, reinvigorated) racist stereotypes and essentialist concepts that were realized in the visual culture of this period, yet, some artists, whether knowingly or not, capitalized on these stereotypes to suggest that skin color or physiognomic features cannot in themselves signify physical, cultural, or intellectual superiority, or as I show in some of the images I analyze, sexuality. I am interested in how certain artists' representations summoned doubts about the presumed fixed nature of European identity in relation to its non-European and European Other. Empirical science, as applied by anthropologists, biologists,

[24] This is the subject of Stephen Jay Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1996).

political theorists, and those in the letters and arts before mid-century, initially offered a secure notion of distinct boundaries and the superiority of a white race and its culture. But these assurances were countered not only by the fear of miscegenation, but also by the fear that whiteness was an arbitrary concept.[25] Indeed, many of the characteristics associated with non-white races – heightened sexuality (both heterosexual and homosexual), irrationality, brutality – could also be ascribed to the white body.

My dissertation does not seek simply to explore a moment in an artist's oeuvre in which some facet of race manifests itself, or the degree to which through the image, the artist reflects the incipient racism that emerged after mid-century. Rather, I consider how these images are fraught with conflicted meanings about white, European, French cultural and political dominance and the imperative to maintain the separation of races. This separation is breached in three of the four works of art I investigate. At this historical moment, for the white, French body to remain pure it needed to be reproduced and affirmed through heterosexuality, and the images I analyze by Degas, Bazille, and Toulouse-Lautrec suggest the closeness of white and black in both heterosexual and homoerotic contexts. The racialized body of the African and the Gypsy was exploited for its exotic character as a site on which to project sexual fantasy. I explore the coalescence of fear and mastery over the racialized body, but my dissertation also interrogates the ways in which the white body was indelibly marked by its sustained contact with the dark-skinned body.

[25] Nineteenth-century racial theorists and scientists were confronted with the physical evidence that "whiteness" was not exclusive to the European, and that within Europe skin color was not consistent. For an explanation of these anomalies, see Louis Figuier, *Les races humaines*, 1872, published in English translation as *The Human Race* (New York: Appleton, 1872). Also see Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997), 30. Dyer's book convincingly argues that whiteness is as unstable and artificial signifier of race as is dark skin and the physiognomic features associated with Africans.

Although I consider physiognomy, comportment, and sexuality of white and dark-skinned bodies, the materiality and embodiment of race through the depiction of skin assumes a central role in my dissertation. The ways in which Degas, Manet, Bazille, and Toulouse-Lautrec represented skin color and texture expanded the limited range of hues and tonalities traditionally employed to depict white and dark skin and I investigate how these artists position black and dark skin as a competing aesthetic to white skin.

Figures in Color, and Black and White

In each of the four chapters, I thoroughly examine one image around which I assemble interconnected works of art by modernist and academic artists, and relevant aspects of nineteenth-century French social history and racial science. In Chapter One, "Mme Camus's Shadow: Degas and Racial Consciousness," I investigate Edgar Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus*, 1869-1870, which, I argue, problematizes the portrait of a respectable *bourgeoise* by substituting Mme Camus's pale and luminous complexion, a prized attribute and carefully protected by nineteenth-century bourgeois women, with an opaque and shadowed visage. Moreover, the inclusion of an exotically dressed semi-nude black male sculpture, I contend, alludes to illicit relationships between white women and black men and draws attention to nineteenth-century anxieties about inter-racial unions. I argue that the palette of reddish brown pigment Degas employed to render Mme Camus's complexion can be read as a metaphor for inter-racial contact and the *bourgeoise's* sexuality. Degas's image, I claim, can also be understood as a meditation on the heterogeneity and contingent nature of whiteness and its waning efficacy to signify as a literal and metaphorical sign of European racial purity.

In the second chapter, "Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette*: Unfixing the Racial Stereotype," I analyze the ways in which Édouard Manet's 1862 image subverts conventional representations of the erotic female Spanish Gypsy that pervaded French literature and visual culture during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. I consider Homi K. Bhabha's notion of the "ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation"[26] of the racial stereotype as embodied by Manet's image of the female Spanish Gypsy. The Spanish Gypsy was extrinsically bound to Spanishness as well as to other ethnicities and I explore the blurring of ethnic and racial and national boundaries as a nineteenth-century French strategy to impose a hybrid racial identity on ethnically distinct populations. Drawing on postcolonial theory, I also examine how stereotyping inflected the dominant culture as much as it attempted to fix a set of characteristics and behaviors for the stereotyped object.

Manet did not dismantle the signs of Spanishness and Gypsiness in this image, but he inventively foregrounded the contrivance of the female Spanish Gypsy's appearance and representation. I argue that this ambivalence is clearly demonstrated in Manet's decision to understate the Gypsy's sexuality and seductive nature, requisite stereotyped characteristics of the female Spanish Gypsy, while underscoring the darkness of her complexion. I read Manet's image as an uncoupling of skin color and essentialist patterns of behavior attributed to the Spanish Gypsy.

In Chapter Three, "Beholding Beauty: the Black Female Body in Frédéric Bazille's Late Oeuvre," I concentrate on Bazille's depiction of the black woman's skin – its color, corporeality, and texture – in three images he painted in 1870: *La Toilette* and two versions of *Négresse aux pivoines*. I draw on nineteenth-century studies of comparative anatomy and consider Bazille's

[26] Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," *The Location of Culture*, 100.

medical training in natural science, physiology, and anatomy as a foundation for his treatment of the black female as a visual manifestation of black womanhood, personhood, and beauty. *La Toilette*, which constitutes the focus of this chapter, is considered within the context of Orientalism primarily to examine how it equivocates rather than subscribes to this trope. As I argue, his image restaged these kinds of pictorial precedents. It is not a coincidence that Bazille's image of three women – two light-skinned and one dark-skinned – overtly acknowledges Édouard Manet's *Olympia*, 1863, and the work of the preeminent Orientalist painter of the day, Jean-Léon Gérôme. Despite the profound disparity between Manet's and Gérôme's images, both artists carefully preserved a semblance of distance between the black and white female bodies so that the sexual fantasy and the notion of beauty associated with the female nude could be fully projected onto the white woman's body. In contrast, as I show, the sensory experience of white skin touching black skin, realized in *La Toilette*, disrupts the safeguarded separation between races. I read this gesture as a means of equating the sensuality of the abject Other, as a black woman frequently signified in images, with the rarefied sensuality of the seated white female nude.

The fourth chapter, "Masculinity and the Object of Desire in Toulouse-Lautrec's *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*," focuses on a drawing by Toulouse-Lautrec reproduced in the popular journal *Le Rire* in 1896. In *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*, Toulouse-Lautrec depicted the well-known *fin-de-siècle* clown, Chocolat, and the artist seemed to uphold aspects of the stereotypical physical traits attributed to blacks. But I analyze how Toulouse-Lautrec's caricature of Chocolat signals a conflicting message about the inviolability of racialist constructs. Chocolat is given aberrant characteristics associated with racist biology, yet, as I show, Toulouse-Lautrec interrupts that reading by covering Chocolat's body in an elegant and form-fitting white costume.

I look at this image in the context of nineteenth-century and current studies on black masculinity and those which examine the vulnerable state of white masculinity in *fin-de-siècle* France.[27] I consider how the image of a black man, widely known as a dim-witted and abused comic foil in the circus and now depicted in a graceful and effeminate manner, resonated with the white bourgeois male readership of *Le Rire*.

Methodologies and Critical Theories

My effort to distill and clarify the signs of racial and cultural hybridity in the images I examine has been guided by a range of methodologies and scholarship. My work draws primarily on formalism, social history, nineteenth-century racial science, and postcolonial and feminist theory. Although I subscribe to the concept of ambivalence in postcolonialism theory, my work owes a great debt to Edward W. Said's seminal work on Orientalism. Said's binary structure in which the colonial power effectively mutes the voice of the colonized remains a valid paradigm for contextualizing and historicizing the univocal and unambiguous approach of many producers of racial difference in late nineteenth-century French visual culture. Linda Nochlin, for example, asserts in her essay, "The Imaginary Orient," that Orientalist artists such as Gérôme elide history in their images of North African or Middle Eastern cultures, thereby denying them a sense of self-determination and history.[28] Homi K. Bhabha, however, expands the matrix for the study of colonial powers and colonized people by emphasizing interaction and cross-fertilization among cultures. Bhabha's theory of the hybridization of cultures and the splitting of identity in colonial discourse, and his notion of the

[27] Among others, see Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998); Todd Reeser, *Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1994); and Christopher E. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[28] Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 33-59.

ambivalent nature of the stereotype provide the theoretical underpinning to my reading of the stereotype in images by Manet and Toulouse-Lautrec.

Scholars of late nineteenth-century French visual culture, Carol Armstrong, Marilyn R. Brown, Marni R. Kessler, and Griselda Pollock, who have devoted aspects of their work to studies of race and its constituent themes of gender, sexuality, class, and colonialism, have also guided my readings of racial difference in the images I analyze in this study. Groundbreaking theoretical works on race and racism by cultural theorists and historians, including Michel Foucault, Kobena Mercer, Robert J. C. Young, Nancy Leys Stepan, and Richard Dyer, have greatly informed my work. Their studies in sexuality, literature, science, and film have expanded my understanding of the institutionalization of racism and the unsettling perplexities of nineteenth-century images of racial difference. More importantly these scholars have demonstrated that instability and ambivalence, and unexpected shifts of power, are intrinsic to the relationship between a presumed dominant and minority cultures.

The six images I examine raise questions about the validity of applying racial essentialism at a time when science, the social order, and much of the visual culture of the late nineteenth century carefully constructed models to support racist ideology.[29] While I do not believe any of the images on which I focus explicitly express a denunciation of racism, I do believe that they speak as much about a deeply conflicted sense of European identity that emerges during the second half of the nineteenth century as they do about racist ideology and the instability of racialist constructs. To that end, my study seeks to illuminate what I see as the hybridity and heterogeneity of racial identity discretely and subtly disclosed in these six images.

[29] As I will also show in my study, late nineteenth-century racial science failed to prove conclusively the superiority and the singularity of the "white" European race.

Chapter One
Mme Camus's Shadow: Degas and Racial Consciousness

Edgar Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus,* painted between 1869 and 1870 [Figure 2], is hardly the depiction of a respectable Parisienne that one would expect the Salon jury of 1870 to accept. Breaking with pictorial and aesthetic conventions of fashionable female portraiture that emphasized the legibility of the sitter's countenance, Degas resists defining his subject through a mimetic recording of her appearance.[30] Instead, Degas articulates Mme Camus's face through mostly unmodulated, opaque pigment, delivering a visage that refuses the subtleties of physiognomic specificity and expression.[31] The occlusion of Mme Camus's face with dark pigment, and the myriad shades of russets, reds, oranges, and muddy browns that permeate the composition, render difficult an attempt to penetrate the space and clearly see the figure and the objects in the room. Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* can be characterized as a shadowland – an indeterminate place between states – where shadows, the eerie glow of nocturnal lighting, and the juxtaposition of animate and inanimate, white and black, and female and male bodies, conjure a scene of the unfamiliar, a phantasm.

In this chapter, I will consider the construction of "whiteness" as an unfixed and problematic notion of French identity, particularly as it applies to the bourgeois white female body. In analyzing the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, I shall argue that Degas's depiction of Mme Camus, in which he darkens her face and hands, compels the viewer to consider the heterogeneity and

---

[30] Tamar Garb makes this point in her chapter, "Framing Femininity in Manet's *Portrait of Mlle E. G.*," in *The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France, 1814-1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 60. She writes of Manet's portrait (also exhibited at the Salon of 1870): "As a mid-nineteenth-century depiction of a young Parisian *haute-bourgeoise*, the *Portrait of Mlle E. G.* needed to convey the specificity of the model while paying homage to her 'charms' and affirming her as the appropriate representative of a social type: young, eligible, refined, and feminine."

[31] Of course, it was not unusual for Degas to limit physiognomic detail and illusionism in his portraits after 1870 in favor of an inventive interpretation of the sitter's likeness that foregrounded the materiality of his medium and, paradoxically, a lack of clarity.

construction of whiteness and the racialization of the white female body. Whiteness of skin, particularly the idealized pale skin color of the *bourgeoise*, signified racial purity and cultural superiority.[32] As the nineteenth century progressed, it became evident that racial boundaries were no longer inviolable. At a time when France's colonial frontiers were expanding, safeguarding the hegemony of whiteness and racial hierarchies became imperative. In reality, the illusion of racial purity was being assaulted on many fronts: the white person's erotic desire for the person of color, inter-racial liaisons, and the ambiguous, "monstrous," hybrid progeny of those unions.[33] Reflecting this anxiety was the polemical work of diplomat and racial theorist Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau who boldly asserted in the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* that "[t]he white race, considered in the abstract, has henceforth disappeared from the face of the earth. … Thus, it is now represented only by hybrids."[34] This contingent nature of whiteness is unexpectedly addressed in Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus*. Mme Camus's dusky complexion is not simply a fusion of dark and light pigment, but a reminder that whiteness is multifarious and mutable. Thus, by substituting Mme Camus's fair complexion, highly prized and safeguarded by nineteenth-century bourgeois women, with a deliberately shadowed visage, Degas invites the viewer to contemplate the instability of whiteness and whether skin color can represent racial identity in a legible way. I want to suggest that Degas's exploration of artificial lighting and shadows provided the context

[32] Studies that examine the historical basis of this assertion are, for example, Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997); Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race* (London: Routledge, 2000); and Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

[33] On the emerging fears about miscegenation as an outcome of colonization, see Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995). In particular, see the chapter, "Gobineau: The Fantasy of Race, Sex – An Inequality," 99-117.

[34] Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, 1853-1855 (Paris: P. Belfond, 1967), 870: "L'espèce blanche, considérée abstractivement, a désormais disparu de la face du monde. … Partant, elle n'est plus maintenant représentée que par des hybrides …"

in which the artist could, consciously or not, question and complicate notions of racial difference and mixing.

The sculpture of a blackamoor,[35] prominently displayed in the painting, may be the conspicuous sign of race in the *Portrait of Mme Camus*. The black body was understood as a racialized body, but Degas chooses to extend the visual schema of the racialized body to the white *bourgeoise* in this image. Moreover, the proximity of the black male body to the white female alludes to the very real presence of non-whites in the metropole and the inevitability and reality of racial mixing. I will argue that the muddy brown palette Degas employed for Mme Camus's skin can be read as a metaphor for inter-racial contact and a bourgeois woman's heightened sexuality at a time when the respectable *femme d'intérieur* was thought to secure the continuity of and signify the racial purity of the nation.[36]

Compounding the anxieties about racial purity was the troubling notion supported by modern science that the white woman, including the *bourgeoise*, shared physiological and

[35] The sculpture in Degas's image is frequently characterized by current scholarship as a representation of a "blackamoor," a term coined in the Elizabethan era to describe black Africans or Muslims brought to England via the slave trade. Many of these "blackamoors" served as pages or entertainers at court and for members of the aristocracy. Their attire was elaborate; quite often they wore turbans and clothing that was associated with the "Orient." The sculpture in Degas's image is wearing a cloth or grass skirt resembling the costume worn by Zulu "warriors" who performed at theaters in Europe at mid-century and at Paris's *Folies-Bergère* in the 1870s. On the representation of black pages during the early modern era, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economics of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995). Rae Beth Gordon explores the fascination with African and African-inspired dance in nineteenth-century France in *Dances with Darwin, 1875-1910: Vernacular Modernity in France* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

[36] French historian Jules Michelet echoed these sentiments frequently in his work, *La Femme*, 1860. In the chapter, "Woman a Religion," he proclaims: "The world lives by woman. She contributes two elements which create all civilization; her grace, her delicacy; but this last is chiefly a reflection of her *purity*." See Michelet, *Woman*, trans. J. W. Palmer (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1868), 83. Also see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness*, 9. Although Hall examines notions of cultural and racial identity within the expanding English colonial enterprise during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, her understanding of the perceived imminent threat to white English women from black men relates to conditions in nineteenth-century France. Hall writes, "Concern over the whiteness of English women and the blackness of African men (and the mixture of both) projects onto the bodies of white women the anxieties of an evolving monarchial nation-state in which women are the repository of the symbolic boundaries of the nation." Richard Dyer elaborates on the need of white culture to situate women as the "bearers of whiteness," in *White*, 29.

behavioral affinities with the black.[37] Because of her sexuality and predisposition to emotional behavior, the white female, regardless of her social class, could succumb to sexual temptations proffered by the black male, who was defined by racialist science as a sexualized being of inferior intelligence.[38] The scientific, philosophical, and cultural discourses on race in the late nineteenth century addressed not only physiognomic differences among various races – the "white," "black," "yellow," and "red" races, as they were reductively labeled – but also debated the mutual dependence of race and sexuality, as well as race and intelligence, and race and gender. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the matter of race encompassed white womanhood.

---

[37] The physiognomic correspondences between the person of African descent and the white woman were established by French surgeon and anthropologist Paul Broca (1824-1880) and his follower, anthropologist Paul Topinard (1830-1911). Broca devised a system of cranial measurement that confirmed a correlation between the size and weight of the brains of blacks and European women. Stephen Jay Gould examines Broca's methods in *The Mismeasure of Man*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1996), 105-141. Also see Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire*, 28-34; Mary Ann Doane, *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 213-214; and Angela Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2004): 563-592, for their discussion of white female sexuality and the need to protect the respectable woman from the threat of sexual attraction to the black male.

[38] Michel Foucault notes emphatically that the female body was perceived in the nineteenth century "as being thoroughly saturated with sexuality." See Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 104. Naturalist, anthropologist, and racial theorist Julien-Joseph Virey (1775-1846) characterized the black as being governed by limited intelligence. See Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2 (Paris: Crochard, 1824), 2: "Son intelligence est ordinairement moins grande que celle des blancs …" ("His intelligence is ordinarily less than that of the white …") On the black man's sexual drive, Virey claimed: "[L]e sentiment de l'amour anime tous ses mouvements; ses gestes deviennent lascifs; ils expriment l'ardeur qui le consume" (9). ("The passion of love animates all of his actions; his gestures become lustful; they express the desire that consumes him.") Pierre Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, t. 16 (1866-1890, repr., Nîmes, Gard: C. Lacour, 1990), 904, restated Virey's assertions. See the entry for "*Nègre*," in which Larousse declared that *les nègres* are close to "some species of animals by [the proximity of] their anatomical forms, by their crude instincts," and "[t]heir intellectual inferiority." ("[C]ertaines espèces animales par leurs formes anatomiques, par leurs instincts grossièrs. … Leur infériorité intellectuelle …") A few of the secondary texts that explore this stereotyping are Pascal Blanchard, Éric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris noir* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2001), 16-21; Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Fordick, eds., trans. Teresa Bridgeman, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008); Sander L. Gilman, "The Hottentot and the Prostitute: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality," in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 76-108; and William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 210-249.

Two Portraits of Mme Camus

Painted between 1869 and 1870, Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* was accepted by the Salon jury of 1870.[39] Degas's portrait elicited brief, but significant praise from critic Théodore Duret. In his review of the 1870 Salon, Duret commended Degas for creating a painting that "leaves the beaten path. … The woman represented achieves a type that can not be more original, very lively, very feminine, very Parisian."[40] However, Degas's good friend, novelist and critic Edmond Duranty, responded with sarcasm: "What then! [T]his silhouette has no other concern with her fan, her matching red dress, her brown armchair … than to highlight the background's soft, red light? All her grace, her spirit, and her delicate qualities are lost to the profit of the happy wall."[41] Both statements articulated elements of the painting that coincide with my understanding of the image. Duret obviously found that the image resonated with spirit and liveliness while Duranty could not draw enough from the portrait of the sitter to establish a sense of her identity; there simply were not enough details to establish a specific context for her. The analogous warm hues employed by Degas throughout the composition and the use of shadow would have impaired seeing the figure clearly. Duret's perception of her spirit and Duranty's uneasiness about the ambiguous nature of what engages her attention acknowledged the image's complexity, but the avoidance of any discussion of Mme Camus's visage strikes me as a conspicuous absence.

---

[39] For the painting's provenance, see Felix Baumann and Marianne Karabelnik, eds., *Degas Portraits*, exh. cat. (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994), 90. The Salon jury of 1870 accepted the *Portrait of Mme C[amus]* along with a pastel portrait of *Mme Théodore Gobillard*. They were Degas's last submissions to the Salon. Subsequently, Degas included the *Portrait of Mme Camus* in the second Impressionist exhibition in 1876.

[40] Théodore Duret, "Salon de 1870" in *Critique d'avant-garde* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1885), 34: "Toujours dans la donnée de la vie moderne, nous avons une oeuvre qui sort également des sentiers battus, dans le *Portrait de Mme C.* … La dame représentée réalise un type on ne peut plus original, très vivant, très féminin, très parisien."

[41] Edmond Duranty, "Le Salon de 1870," *Paris-Journal* (May 8, 1870), quoted in Paul-André Lemoisne, *Degas et son œuvre*, vol. 1 (Paris: P. Brame et C. M. de Hauke, aux Arts et métiers graphiques, 1947-1948), 60: "Eh quoi! cette silhouette n'a d'autre préoccupation avec son écran, sa robe rouge assortie, son fauteuil brun au ton si choisi, que de faire valoir le groseille et la lumière tendre de son fond? Toute sa grâce, son esprit, ses délicatesses sont perdues au profit de l'heureux fond!"

Degas's subject for this uncommissioned portrait was Mme Blanche Camus, a delicate and intelligent woman, who was acknowledged as an accomplished pianist. Henri Loyrette identifies her family name as Dumoustier de Frédilly which associated her with a prominent and politically-connected family living in Paris in the nineteenth century.[42] Mme Camus and her husband, Gustave Émile Camus, a respected physician and art collector, often socialized with Degas at the home of his father, Auguste, as well as at the soirees hosted by Berthe Morisot's mother and the artist Alfred Stevens.[43] Blanche and Gustave Camus were part of the inner circle of family, friends, and acquaintances on whom Degas relied as subjects for the numerous portraits he produced during the late 1860s and 1870s. Degas represented Dr. Camus in 1868 and Mme Camus twice, in 1869 and 1870.

In contrast to the *Portrait of Mme Camus* of 1870, Degas devised a more descriptive setting and biographical context for his subject in the earlier portrait, *Mme Camus at the Piano*, completed in 1869 [Figure 3]. The signs of an affluent and refined lifestyle are abundant in the image: *objets*

[42] Henri Loyrette, *Degas* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 267. I have not found detailed biographical material on Mme Camus. For information on members of the Dumoustier de Frédilly family in nineteenth-century Paris who held political appointments, see http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/chan/chan/fonds/edi/sm/F/F12personnel_commerce_industrie.pdf.

[43] Scholars have been able to glean only fragmented information about the lives of Mme Camus and Dr. Camus. Degas's Notebook 26, dated 1875-1877, lists an address for Dr. Camus, indicating they were still seeing each other. See Theodore Reff, ed., *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas. A Catalogue of the Thirty-eight Notebooks in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Other Collections*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 123. A letter by Degas, dated 1892, cited by Degas's niece, Jeanne Fevre, expresses his sadness at the news of Dr. Camus's death that year and provides insight into Mme Camus's personality: "J'ai trouvé sa pauvre femme pleine de douleur et d'énergie, elle juge de tout avec la plus forte raison …" ("I found his poor wife full of grief and energy, she considers everything with extreme reason …") See Jeanne Fevre, *Mon oncle Degas: souvenirs et documents inédits* (Geneva: P. Cailler, 1949), 98. On Degas's friendship with Mme Camus (née Blanche Dumoustier de Frédilly) and her husband, Dr. Gustave Émile Camus (1829-1892), as well as details about Blanche Camus's talent as a pianist, see Roy McMullen, *Degas: His Life, Times, and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 173-176; Loyrette, *Degas*, 267-268; and Ann Dumas, *The Passionate Eye: Impressionist and Other Master Paintings from the Collection of Emil G. Bührle*, (Munich: Artemis, 1990), 129. Dumas also states that Degas consulted Dr. Camus about his worsening vision. Marilyn R. Brown, "A Tale of Two Families: The De Gas-Musson Correspondence at Tulane Univesity," in *Degas and New Orleans: A French Impressionist in America*, exh. cat., ed. Gail Feigenbaum (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art; Copenhagen: Ordrupgaard, 1999), 89, notes that Dr. Camus assisted Degas with the commitment of Degas's uncle, Eugène Musson, to an insane asylum in 1877.

d'art – a reference to Gustave Camus's known collection of Meissen porcelain figurines[44] – a Venetian mirror, the piano, music score, stacks of books, and Mme Camus's stylish gown. Interrupted from playing one of Beethoven's etudes (Degas recalled later that he was pleased with the illusionistic rendering of the score),[45] Mme Camus has turned her body away from her instrument and acknowledges the viewer with a coy address. Degas depicts Mme Camus in a frontal pose and clearly lit against the dark and white of her upright piano. She is framed by her instrument, the large case of books behind her, the rug, and the pillow at her feet.

The details that Degas included not only constituted a narrative frame of reference for his subject, but also the predominantly dark palette employed for many of the objects in the composition – the mahogany brown of the piano, the sienna-colored wall, the ebony keys of the piano, and indigo-blue hue of Mme Camus's dress – contrasts with, indeed emphasizes, the cream-colored and ivory pigment that Degas used to render her complexion. Edmond de Goncourt described Mme Camus's complexion as "opaline white" and compared her to one of the pale rose-colored porcelain sculptures in her husband's collection. He wrote: "[C]hance made [Dr. Camus] the husband of a pale, porcelain-like woman who resembles with her slender figure and her aristocratic bloodlessness, the goddess of the world on display – a pale woman, with her opaline whiteness, [who] honors her husband's dinners with the graceful form and listlessness of a figurine."[46] Neither Mme Camus nor her husband were particularly flattered by Edmond de

---

[44] Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal; mémoires de la vie littéraire, 1871-1875*, vol. X, ed. Robert Ricatte (Monaco: Imprimerie nationale, 1956), 156. In a journal entry dated January 1874, Edmond de Goncourt light-heartedly mocked Dr. Camus's passion for collecting and displaying porcelain figurines.

[45] Theodore Reff, in *Degas: The Artist's Mind* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 124, states that Degas "later told Walter Sickert 'with glee' the music on the piano is depicted so accurately that an expert was able to identify it as Beethoven's."

[46] Goncourt, *Journal; mémoires de la vie littéraire*, X: 156: "[L]e hasard l'a fait [Dr. Camus] le mari d'une pâle femme porcelainée, qui semble, dans sa sveltesse et son aristocratique exsanguinité, la divinité du monde de ses étagerès, – une pâle femme faisant, dans sa blancheur opaline, les honneurs des dîners de son mari avec les grâces contournées et alanguies de'une figurine." Also see Henri Loyrette, "Degas entre Gustave Moreau et Duranty. Notes sur les Portraits 1859-1876," *Revue de l'Art* 86 (1989): 16-27.

Goncourt's characterizations, but his diary entry confirms aspects of Mme Camus's countenance, figure, and demeanor that upheld the codes of appearance and behavior expected of a respectable *haute bourgeoise*.

Degas evokes a different feminine presence in the second portrait of Mme Camus: one that is self-absorbed and, because of the deep shadows cast on her form, does not reward the observer with a clear view of a pleasing and charming visage. The clarity of the image is also affected by the pervasive orange and red palette, the artist's conspicuous facture, and the unusual lighting and arrangement of furnishings and decorative objects in the room. Despite the inclusion of objects of interior decor that one would anticipate seeing in a bourgeois salon, Degas crops and fragments these elements thereby suspending their precise function. The eerily animated figure of the blackamoor sculpture, in all probability a torchère whose candle holder has been excluded from the composition, confounds the viewer by its incompleteness and the fact that is casts no light. But it is the face of Mme Camus that is visually the most perplexing aspect of the portrait. Carol Armstrong has characterized Degas's portraits after the early 1870s as "obliterative" and marked by the act of effacing the sitter's physiognomy. Armstrong argues that Degas initiated this practice in some of his images of the 1860s, effectively reversing his preference for the descriptive clarity of physiognomic details he mastered in his early portraits. In discussing *The Bellelli Family*, 1860-1862, as an example of one of Degas's early portraits that appears more tightly painted, she writes: "[T]he Bellelli portrait demonstrates a rigorous representational formation and a powerful descriptive capacity which would continue to be evident in Degas's portraits. … It is, paradoxically, this foundation that he worked against in his later, obliterative portraits"[47] Armstrong's analysis is consistent with Degas's two images of

[47] Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003), 113.

Mme Camus. In the first portrait, Degas executes his subject's likeness with the type of detail and specificity that implied a greater fidelity to her appearance.[48] In the later image, Degas refuses the expectations of conventional portraiture that promised an individuated likeness of the sitter.[49] Here, Mme Camus's darkened profiled visage evinces ambiguity and equivocation.

In Degas's second representation of Mme Camus, she is placed in an artificially lit interior.[50] Seated upright, dominating the space, she pulls away from the back of the massive armchair. Although her form is somewhat obscured by shadow, diffused light, and the glowing atmosphere that envelops the composition, we can perceive the contour of her body and the cut of the neckline that exposes her pale décolletage. The abrupt division between her chest and face is dramatically offset by the juxtaposition of ivory pigment and opaque chestnut brown hues employed to render her exposed skin. Not only is the face of Mme Camus shrouded in darkened pigment, but Degas also applied this palette to her neck and to her hands. The fluid and scumbled strokes of reddish-brown pigment that Degas employed to render Mme Camus's skin tone and texture limits the degree of visibility afforded to the viewer.

Although the right side of her face is bathed in shadow, Mme Camus is for the most part backlit in opposition to the oblique source of light from the right side of the canvas that seemingly illuminates the sculpture. Holding her palmetto fan, her wide eyes and slight smile indicating reverie or pleasure, Mme Camus gazes towards something outside the composition.

---

[48] Of course, no portrait is a neutral or objective record of an individual's likeness.

[49] For example, critic Paul Mantz praised the work of portrait painter, Carolus-Duran, whose representation, *Portrait of Mme M****, 1869, was exhibited in the Salon of 1869: "[E]t rien ne l'empêche d'examiner à loisir la tête ou éclate l'individualité du modèle, et les yeux surtout, qui sont pleins d'éloquence." ("[N]othing prevents one from examining at leisure the face or disrupts the individuality of the model, especially the eyes which are eloquently expressive.") See Mantz, "Salon de 1869," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 1, 2 per. (January-June 1869): 503.

[50] While the ambiguous patch of light pigment on the right margin of the canvas could suggest a curtain blowing into the room, I read this passage as a lampshade and conclude that it is from this source that some of the diffused light emanates. Degas's saturated palette and shadows conjure a nocturnal scene. Indeed, at the second Impressionist exhibition in 1876, the painting was shown as *Portrait, Le Soir*. See Charles S. Moffett, ed., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886*, exh. cat. (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986), 173. Anne Roquebert, *Edgar Degas* (Paris: Éditions Cercle d'art, 1988), 118, raises the possibility that the portrait's interior represents the Camus's salon on rue Godot de Mauroy in the ninth arrondissement.

Her ruddy complexion is heightened by the inclusion of the sculpture which is composed mostly of cool black-brown and reddish-brown paint. More significantly, Degas uses a slightly darker palette to articulate the face of Mme Camus than he does to create the pronounced shadow cast by the sculpture. The shadow edges closer to Mme Camus, and, at the same time, it draws our attention to the blank space between them that is interrupted by the shape of the fan and the lower edge of the mirror's frame. This empty space, framed by the figure of Mme Camus on the left side of the composition and the sculpture on the right, also elicits uneasiness, a sense of not being able to discern what is taking place in this confined space.

I want to propose that Degas invites us to see an interrelationship between the animate and inanimate forms of Mme Camus and the sculpture (and its shadow) and that the artist foregrounds an oscillation between the two. Indeed, the correspondence between the sculpture's shadow and Mme Camus's shaded face suggests Degas's awareness of nineteenth-century racial theory. Mme Camus's pallid complexion in the first portrait has been conspicuously altered by the fluid, yet firmly applied strokes of reddish-brown pigment that Degas employs to render her skin tone and texture in the later work. What appears to be a uniform application of opaque pigment to the face is mediated slightly by the addition of strokes of a deeper olive-brown hue along her neck, her cheek, her nose, and under and in the hollow of her right eye. The darkened recess of her right eye is exaggerated by this olive-brown pigment which merges into her eyebrow, enlarging and emphasizing it. In these areas of the face where contours, angles, and depressions naturally produce shadows, Degas further conceals Mme Camus's face by employing a dark-on-dark range of hues to reinforce the darkened base which constitutes, for the most part, her complexion. Degas employs no spectrum of half-tones, progressing from lighter

tonal values to dark smoky hues, to heighten the illusion of soft and rounded pale flesh bathed in evanescent, muted shadow.

In the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, Degas broadly applied layers of pigment of a uniform value that conceal most of her face, leaving an occluded silhouette. Moreover, Degas's unconventional choice of pigment to define Mme Camus's skin color can be seen to produce unstable meanings about the fixity of skin color to confirm racial identity. While Mme Camus's race is never really in doubt, Degas's treatment of her skin color exposed the futility of casting whiteness as the antithesis of blackness, of reducing whiteness to a homogenous racial category, or indeed, of asserting whiteness as a uniform or constant characteristic of the complexion of a northern European woman. Instead, Degas's image elicits questions about the mutability and arbitrary nature of whiteness.

The Fabrication of Whiteness

For decades, naturalists, ethnologists, and anthropologists employed somewhat broadly the color signifier "white" to distinguish and summarize the salient physical *and* moral characteristics of Europeans, as well as certain populations of North Africa, the Balkans, the Middle East, and Asia.[51] The scientific community did not apply whiteness (to the color of the skin) in absolute

[51] Despite claims of scientific objectivity, ethnological and anthropological studies on race in nineteenth-century France compared and ranked the appearance and habits of "non-white" and "white" races using qualitative (as well as quantitative) language to affirm the supremacy of the latter. For an excellent introduction to primary sources in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century racialist thought, see Robert Bernasconi and Tommy L. Lott, eds., *The Idea of Race* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2000). For critical studies of "whiteness," see Dyer, *White*; Ruth Frankenberg, ed., *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); and Seshadri-Crooks, *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race*. Although nineteenth-century race theorists and scientists continued to attest to the aesthetic and intellectual superiority of "white" races, they also conceded the limitations of applying "white" as a skin color exclusively to Europeans. Hence, some theorists on racial taxonomy included the populations of the Middle East and parts of Asia within the category of "white." The ethnic divisions within the "white race" were scrupulously described by French science writer Louis Figuier (1819-1894) in *Les races humaines*, 1872, published in English translation as *The Human Race* (New York: Appleton, 1872).

terms nor did it perceive it as an exclusively European physical trait.[52] German anatomist and physiologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach extended the classification of Caucasian, the geographic term he appropriated to denote light-skinned populations, to include "[t]he Europeans … and the rest of the true Finns, and the western Asiatics this side [of] the Obi, the Caspian Sea, and the Ganges along with the people of North Africa. In one word, the inhabitants nearly of the known world to the ancient Greeks and Romans. They are more or less white in colour, with red cheeks, and, according to the European conception of beauty in the countenance and shape of the skull, the most handsome of men."[53] Naturalist and philosopher Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, acknowledged that whiteness was not any more uniform than blackness when he wrote in his *Natural History*: "When we come to examine in particular the different nations, or tribes, of which each of these black races is composed, we shall perceive as many varieties as in the white races; and, at the same time, all the shades from brown to black … [and] in the white races, all the shades from brown to fair."[54] French science journalist Louis Figuier began his comprehensive study, *Les Races Humaines*, 1872, addressing this dilemma by stating that "[t]he colour of the skin is a very convenient characteristic to fix upon in order to identity the various races. … Certain individuals, though they be members of the White or Caucasian Race, may yet be very darkly

[52] Postcolonial theorist Robert J. C. Young makes the case for the conflicted nature of nineteenth-century racial theory in *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*, 27: "The question is whether the old essentializing categories of cultural identity, or of race, were really so essentialized, or have been retrospectively constructed as more fixed than they were. When we look at the texts of racial theory, we find that they are in fact contradictory, disruptive and already deconstructed."

[53] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind. De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa*, trans. Thomas Bendyshe (London: Published for the Anthropological Society, by Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), 303-304.

[54] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *The Natural History of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals; with the Theory of the Earth in General*, vol. 1, trans. W. Kenrick, L.L.D. and J. Murdoch (London: T. Bell, 1775-1776), 233.

tinted. … We must add that the colour of the skin is often difficult to fix, since the shades of colour merge into one another."[55]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, at least for the scientific establishment, skin color was no longer deemed the authoritative physiological marker of racial difference. Craniology, the measurement of the skull, proved to be more objective and quantitative in defining racial difference.[56] Nevertheless, skin color still served as the most conspicuous outward sign of racial identity and French and other European race theorists continued to assert that the "white" races represented the apex in beauty, "civilization and power."[57]

Color-consciousness, indeed one could assert white-consciousness, pervaded many discourses in the nineteenth century.[58] Relevant here are the ways in which nineteenth-century racialist science and visual arts theory summoned the female body to serve as a primary site of whiteness in their disquisitions. Whiteness signified virtue, respectability, delicacy, and privilege, all of which were associated with European womanhood. The long-standing quasi-religious import of color was revived in the nineteenth century by diplomat, historian, and color theorist Frédéric de Portal who maintained that the color white was equated "with purity,

---

[55] Figuier, *The Human Race*, 29. Figuier, who served as Professor of Pharmacy in Montpellier, was a well-known science journalist and correspondent for *La Presse* in the 1850s. He also published a popular science annual during the second half of the nineteenth century. On Figuier's role in the popularizing of science, see Maurice Crosland, "Popular Science and the Arts: Challenges to Cultural Authority in France under the Second Empire," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 34, no. 3 (September 2001): 301-322.

[56] On the subjectivity of these calculations, particularly those of Paul Broca, see Gould, *The Mismeasure Of Man*, 117-141.

[57] Figuier, *The Human Race*, 41: "What we have just said with regard to the civilization and power of the white race applies with most force to the people who form the European branch." Jean-Bernard Delestre (1800-1871) emphasized the role skin color plays in racial classification in *De la physiognomonie; texte-dessin-gravure* (Paris: Renouard, 1866), 346. He writes: "Beaucoup d'auteurs ont pris la couleur de la peau pour base de leur classification des membres de la famille innombrable dont le nom commun est humanité." ("Many writers have taken skin color for the basis of their classification of the countless members of the family whose common name is humanity.")

[58] Hippolyte Taine evokes color consciousness as a constituent of nationalism, gender, and class in *The Philosophy of Art. Art in the Netherlands* (*Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays-Bas*), trans. John Durand (New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1871), 13-14. He writes: "Physically, [the Germanic race] have a whiter and softer skin. … The complexion is of a charming rose, infinitely delicate among young girls, and lively and tinged with vermilion among young men … among the laboring classes … I have found it wan, turnip-hued …"

sincerity, and innocence, and when applied to woman, it takes on the meaning of chastity."[59] Despite his admission that the Caucasian race was not uniformly white, Blumenbach called forth an unambiguous image of the female white body when he invoked the "indefinable transition from the pure white skin of the German lady through the yellow, the red, and the dark nations."[60] And in the anatomical text for artists, *Anatomie des formes du corps humain à l'usage des peintures et des sculpteurs*, French physician and anatomist Julien Fau foregrounded age, gender, and social position when he described the color and texture of northern European skin. Fau noted that children and women possessed skin that was "[f]ine and velvet-like, white and rosy."[61] Of the upper classes, Fau declared that the "[t]he rich, raised in indolence … generally have a skin of dazzling whiteness."[62]

But the reification of this "dazzling whiteness" in the painted image of a woman proved to be problematic.[63] Artists discovered that they needed to relieve pure whiteness from its monotony and from an impression of lifelessness and muteness.[64] Blumenbach and Fau invoked the descriptive terms "rosy" or "red" to mitigate the image of a stark whiteness and to conjure a

---

[59] Frédéric de Portal, *Des couleurs symboliques dans l'Antiquité, le Moyen Âge et les Temps modernes* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1837), 51: "[L]a signification populaire de la couleur blanche [est] … la pureté, la sincérité, l'innocence … appliqué à la femme, il prenait l'acception de chasteté."

[60] Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind*, 107.

[61] Julien Fau, *Anatomie des formes du corps humain à l'usage des peintures et des sculpteurs*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Méquignon-Marvis, 1865), 125: "Fine et véloutée, blanche et rose."

[62] Ibid., 128: "Les gens riches, éléves dans l'indolence … ont généralement la peau d'une blancheur éblouissante."

[63] See Susan Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X,'" *American Art* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 8-33. John Singer Sargent's *Madame X*, 1883-1884, proffers a compelling image of the lifelessness of "dazzling" white skin. In her examination of this portrait, Sidlauskas describes the regimen of Madame X's toilette in which she mixed toxic potassium chlorate in her dusting powder to attain her renowned "lavender white skin." The degree to which she concealed and denied her natural skin tone was, even for her day, disconcerting. As Sidlauskas observes, Madame X's make-up ultimately rendered a deathly pallor to her skin. Also see Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," for her analysis of portraits of fashionable women in which the discernable blush imparts a greater degree of expression; and Mechthild Fend, "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860," *Art History* 28, no. 3 (2005): 311-339, who discusses the ways in which Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres painted female skin as monochromatic, inanimate, and uncommunicative.

[64] Paradoxically, the terms "mute" and "blank" were employed to denigrate the dark skin of the person of African descent. I elaborate on this in my third chapter on Bazille's images of the black female.

delicate suffusion of color that complemented a pale skin tone. The glow of rosy cheeks animated the surface of the skin and suggested the expression of modest feelings. Regardless of whether that delicate glow was natural or was created through artifice, if this coloration was deemed excessive, it could impugn a woman's respectability. An immoderate temperament and heightened sexuality were associated with warmer skin tonalities. The correlation between women who were endowed with darker complexions and a proclivity towards seduction and amorous conduct was well-documented.[65] Fau's remark that "[s]ometimes white skin … is tanned by the warmest [skin] tones, and this rich color often betrays burning passions" was not uncommon.[66]

Mastering the art of maquillage could remedy the problems of a too-white complexion as well as complexions that were afflicted by blotchy or dark coloration. Reading the prescriptive guides on beauty and fashion, bourgeois women were cautioned to protect their skin from elements that would darken or damage it and encouraged to improve its appearance through the discrete use of cosmetics.[67] One of the primary benefits of making-up was to impart a lighter, creamier, and more uniform tone to the face and neck. In the art of maquillage, the masking of impurities and blemishes of the complexion was negotiated by the careful blending of powder

[65] For example, see the entry for "*Femme*" in Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, t. 10:203. Larousse assigned a more amorous nature to women from the south of France, Spain, and Italy who were darker in coloring than women from northern Europe. Also see Carol Ockman, *Ingres's Eroticized Bodies: Retracing the Serpentine Line* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 67-83, for her analysis of J.-A.-D. Ingres's *Baronne de Rothschild*, 1848, and the stereotyping of the Jewish woman as sensuous and exotic through the use of warm coloring for her complexion and dress.

[66] Fau, *Anatomie des formes du corps humain*. 229: "Tantôt, la peau blanche … est dorée par les tons les plus chauds, et ce riche coloris trahit souvent des passions ardentes, impérieuses."

[67] See Charles Baudelaire, "In Praise of Cosmetics," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), 33, for his musing on the use of rice powder to improve the "unity in the colour and texture of the skin." Marni R. Kessler in *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 39, points out that bourgeois women were advised to wear make-up discretely to preclude any association with the "domain of the actress and the prostitute." Also see Garb, *The Painted Face*, 3-6, on the correspondence between the painted female face and the art of maquillage.

and rouge to suggest tinting, shading, and the pallor of a healthy complexion.[68] Yet, in Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus*, flat and unmodulated passages of reddish-brown pigment applied to most of her face fail to evince the suggestion of the delicate and pale skin we see in *Mme Camus at the Piano* or a complexion that seemed to Edmond de Goncourt as translucent as porcelain. The abrupt bifurcation of Mme Camus's darkened face and neck with the ivory tonalities of her décolletage in the *Portrait of Mme Camus* is disconcerting given that the aesthetic of a uniform and light complexion remained the measure of good taste and propriety.

In 1858, art critic and writer Théophile Gautier published the essay, *De la mode*, championing modern clothing as the appropriate mode of dress for the subject of modern painting. Gautier concluded his essay by praising women who have understood the imperative of correctly and aesthetically applying make-up to improve on nature's imperfections:

> With the rare feeling for harmony that characterizes them, women have understood that there was a sort of dissonance between [adorning themselves in] the toilette and the *natural* figure. In the same fashion that clever painters establish harmony between flesh and fabrics through light glazes, women whiten their skin, which would appear dark grey next to shimmering fabrics, lace, and satins, and give [their skin] a unity of tone that is preferable to the marks of white, yellow, and red that affect [even] the most pure complexion. By means of this fine powder, they give their skin an impression of marble, and remove the healthy ruddiness from their complexion that is a vulgarity for our civilization because it supposes the predominance of physical appetites over intellectual instincts. … [A woman's] form approaches that of statuary; it is rendered spiritual and pure.[69]

---

[68] For discussions of the components and methods of applying make-up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Kessler, *Sheer Presence*, 37-39; Melissa Hyde, "The 'Make-up' of the Marquise," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (September 2000): 453-475; Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 120-127; and Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," 583-587.

[69] Théophile Gautier, *De la mode* (Besançon: Éditions Cardinal, 2004), n. p.: "Avec le rare sentiment d'harmonie qui les caractérise, les femmes ont compris qu'il y avait une sorte de dissonance entre la grande toilette et la figure *naturelle*. De même que les peintres habiles établissent l'accord des chairs et des draperies par des glacis légers, les femmes blanchissent leur peau, qui paraîtrait bise à côté des moires, des dentelles, des satins, et lui donnent une unité de ton préférable à ces martelages de blanc, de jaune et de rose qu'offrent les teints les plus purs. Au moyen de cette fine poussière, elles font prendre à leur épiderme un mica de marbre, et ôtent à leur teint cette santé rougeaude qui est une grossièreté dans notre civilisation, car elle suppose la prédominence des appétits physiques sur les instincts intellectuels. … La forme se rapproche ainsi de la statuaire; elle se spiritualise et se purifie."

Gautier's prescription for a balanced and white complexion was equated with elegance, polish, modesty, and, indeed, civilization. Gautier ascribed a coarse appearance and, in accord with Fau's understanding of human nature based on skin color, excessive physical urges to the bearer of a conspicuous, albeit healthy, ruddy complexion. Rather than apply "racism" to the aesthetics of Fau and Gautier – although I believe that their characterizations were aligned with the racialist ideology that associated dark skin with immoderate behavior and amorous desires – the better term to characterize these sentiments would be "colorism," the preference for and privileging of lighter-skinned individuals.[70] Despite their bias in favor of whiteness, what Fau and Gautier tacitly acknowledged, along with the pronouncements from the scientific establishment, is the variability of whiteness. Gautier may have wanted to erase the signs of the heterogeneity of skin color through maquillage, but the patches of "yellow and red" that Gautier admitted afflict all women's complexions tend to unify rather than separate people whose racial identity had been overdetermined by skin color.

The diversity of complexion coloring among European women was also explored by chemist and color theorist Michel-Eugène Chevreul in his treatise on the fundamental laws of color, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs, et de l'assortiment des objets colorés, considéré d'après cette loi*, 1839. In the chapter devoted to women's clothing and the ways in which the choice of color for a woman's attire can best complement her skin, eye, and hair color, Chevreul begins by recapitulating Blumenbach's observation that Caucasian women are "more or less white and in certain parts rosy."[71] The range of chromatic possibilities for painting drapery and bonnets prompted Chevreul to consider as well the range of skin tones that he

[70] See my second chapter on the Spanish Gypsy for Gautier's racialist views on the Spanish and Gypsy women he encountered during his trip to Spain in 1840.

[71] Michel-Eugène Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and Their Applications to the Arts*, trans. Charles Martel (London: H.G. Bohn, 1860), 275.

observed and the ways in which drapery color can diminish or enhance a woman's complexion. The noteworthy aspect of Chevreul's chapter for my study is the expansion in chromatic terms of a white woman's complexion ("the different flesh-tints of women" as he called them) from "more or less white" to "more red than rosy … to those that have a hint of orange mixed with brown."[72] Chevreul's recognition of the complexity of skin color inherent in "white" populations was not a repudiation of "colorism" or, indeed, a rejection of the categorization of race vis-à-vis skin color.[73] Instead, it can be understood as a disengagement with the ideology that professed the immutability of whiteness, particularly as it applied to the European ("white") woman's complexion.[74] While Chevreul's work is not rooted in the polemics of racial theory, it does signify an awareness of the scientific and medical discourses on race and skin color by those theorizing about and, by extension, those creating visual culture.

Degas's notebooks, which document his working methods, provide insight into the nature of his experimentation with the depiction of the human form. In particular, Notebook 22 indicates a rejection of an oversimplified manner of rendering the complexity and variability of skin color. Notebook 22, dated between 1867 and 1874, records Degas's observations on skin color: "One does not like to hear people speaking as if to children about rosy and glowing flesh, 'Ah, what life,

[72] Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and Their Applications to the Arts*, 277.

[73] Chevreul was conscious of racial division based on skin color and adhered to a standard tripartite classification of races: white, yellow, and black. At the beginning of his chapter, "On Female Clothing," 274-275, he lists the races in hierarchical order: the Caucasian or white race; races that are "copper-coloured"; and "the Negro race, the Papuans, [and] the Malays."

[74] The distinctions between white and black skin that anatomists and racialist theorists frequently upheld centered on the ability of white skin to register subtle nuances of color and, importantly, on its luminosity and transparency. I discuss this in detail in my third chapter. Fau, in *Anatomie des formes du corps humain à l'usage des peintures et des sculpteurs*, 254, described a white woman's skin as transparent enough to allow the blue veining to be seen: "[L]a peau, blanche, fine et transparente, laisse apercevoir des filets azurés." Angela Rosenthal explores how artists visualized the transparency of a woman's skin in "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture."

what blood.' Human skin is as varied in aspect, among us most of all, as in nature …"[75] It is also at this time that Degas begins the unorthodox practice of employing dark pigment to shade and obscure the most prominent features of his female sitters: their heads and their hands.[76]

An example, useful as a comparison with the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, is Degas's *Portrait of Mme Lisle and Mme Loubens*, 1866-1870 [Figure 4]. The less than ideal faces of Mme Lisle and Mme Loubens echo the coloration of dulled hues that constitutes their clothing. Strokes of olive-green and umber permeate the complexion of Mme Lisle (seated on the left) and are neutralized only by a greenish-beige tint that registers as the skin tone of the illuminated parts of her face: her right ear, forehead, eyes, upper lip, and cheeks. Two arcing black eyebrows and dark eyes punctuate the face of Mme Loubens which is composed of a blend of green, brown, and coral pigment. Only her left ear, a thin section of her left cheek, and her lower lip, painted in pink hues, interrupt the shrouding of her face by shadow. Natural light, filtered through the gauzy curtain panel behind Mme Loubens, is insufficient to give the impression of a pale, ivory complexion that remains concealed by the dim light and shadows. While the matte greenish tint of Mme Lisle's face and Mme Loubens's shadowed visage were not meant to imply racial identity, they can be understood to undermine an expectation of appropriateness, clarity, and purity in the depiction of the respectable woman's portrait. Degas's rendering of the skin tone of Mme Lisle's and Mme Loubens's complexions through such a contrived palette was unorthodox and, no doubt, Degas wanted to exploit the incongruous effects of indirect lighting and shadow

[75] Quoted in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 565-566, translation by Charles Harrison. Also see Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, vol. 1:110.

[76] Elisabeth Bronfen's essay, "Facing Defacement: Degas's Portraits of Women," in *Degas Portraits*, ed. Baumann and Karabelnik, 248, characterizes many of Degas's portraits of women as a hybrid form: "His conspicuously messy technique of rubbing out, covering over and negating levels of depiction produces the specifically modern hybridity of constitutive and obliterative portraits." Bronfen also explores the complexity and depth that result paradoxically from the lack of clarity in the portrait. Discussing Degas's *Woman at a Window*, 1875-1878, she states, "[S]he is the embodiment of an enigma. She sits in stark contrast to the bright whiteness of the opened window, a nexus between vagueness and brilliance" (246).

on his subjects' faces, as well as emphasize the materiality of his medium. But the depiction of skin color and the meanings it elicited in nineteenth-century discourses, including those in visual and popular culture, were not value-neutral. Class, gender, and race were circumscribed by certain skin color boundaries and dark skin, aside from its association with racial identity, implied labor, the public sphere, poor hygiene, and coarseness. Furthermore, class and racial hierarchies depended on the legibility of difference to support one group's claim to superiority. By exercising latitude in depicting the skin color of a bourgeois woman, Degas seems to express ambivalence about the notions of difference and privilege ascribed to the *bourgeoise*. The attributes of the feminine ideal of skin coloring and texture – pale, pearly, creamy, ivory, diaphanous, and translucent – are suppressed in the *Portrait of Mme Lisle and Mme Loubens* as they are for the most part in the *Portrait of Mme Camus*. As a result, whiteness of skin color, and what Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks characterizes as the "exceptionality, exclusiveness and uniqueness"[77]of racial identity, seem compromised. In the *Portrait of Mme Lisle and Mme Loubens* and the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, Degas retreats from the notion that whiteness is coherent and homogeneous as he foregrounds its contingencies and construction.

Inscription of Race

I want to shift my discussion of a woman's painted skin from the purely aesthetic, from the accepted standard that favored pale and ivory skin tones, to an exploration of the racial implications of skin color that emerged and remained in place during most of the nineteenth century. Whiteness is frequently invoked as the "unraced norm" as Richard Dyer asserts.[78] Yet, whiteness paradoxically depends on its antithesis, blackness, for an affirmation of the self-

[77] In *Desiring Whiteness*: *A Lacanian Analysis of Race*, 7, Seshadri-Crooks, asserts that racial identity is grounded in the notion of *sui generis*.

[78] Dyer, *White*, 2.

evident notion of superiority. Dyer also argues that "[w]hites must be seen to be white."[79] Traditionally, the juxtaposition of black and white skin as a pictorial strategy works to intensify whiteness, to render whiteness purer, and, indeed, ethereal.

Tracing Degas's working process from a preparatory drawing to the finished canvas helps us begin to perceive the *Portrait of Mme Camus* as a pictorial meditation upon racial consciousness and the instability of whiteness. Degas's preliminary study in pencil and charcoal of the *Portrait of Mme Camus* [Figure 5] indicates that the artist envisioned the figure of Mme Camus as a commanding presence in the room. Other than the chair, Mme Camus is the sole form in the composition. Her face is rendered in shadow, but her features are more defined so that we can make out her right eye, nose and mouth. In fact, the shadow that Degas conceived for her visage lacks the opacity that is so conspicuous in the canvas. In the study, Degas contrasted the smudged marks of charcoal that darken her face with a passage that is relatively untouched by pencil, her illuminated right ear. Mme Camus's face is cast in relief against the muted and thinly applied layer of charcoal and surrounded by a white aureole of untouched paper. The drawing also points to other ways in which Degas would alter the finished work. The large fan in the final canvas is here marked out by two circular forms, precisely drawn as if the artist inscribed their outlines with a compass and smaller in diameter than the palmetto fan in the painting. Only two vertical lines intersected by an oval form hint at Degas's plans for the sculpture's inclusion in the canvas. With the addition of the sculpture and the articulation of the other objects in the room in the final work, Degas orchestrated an oscillation among the dark and shadowed forms – the chair, Mme Camus, the fan, the sculpture and its shadow – that are defined by sinuous contours as well as chromatic similarities and tonal value.

[79] Dyer, *White*, 45.

In the oil canvas, a succession of analogous passages of dark pigment – from ebony-brown to reddish-brown to dark brown again – progresses from the chair to Mme Camus's face to the fan whose black spine directs our attention to the inanimate figure of the black male. This sequence creates a chromatic congruity and rhythm – rather than chromatic dissonance or opposition – in the composition, particularly between the palette employed for Mme Camus's occluded face and the shadow cast by the sculpture. Framing her form and the sculpture's shadow are the massive chair, draped in what resembles a sable-colored and mottled animal skin, and the dark, gleaming surface of the sculpture. Within this frame, we are aware of the correspondence between the reddish-brown and orange-red hues that are employed to compose Mme Camus's face and the sculpture's shadow.

Most nineteenth-century French images that included white and black figures, male and female, offered the reassurance of the separateness and incommensurability of races. Those representations were frequently associated with the Orientalist visual tradition, rather than portraiture,[80] which provided the pretext for the juxtaposition of racialized bodies in intimate, exotic, and timeless settings. The Orientalist fantasy of white- and dark-skinned women who reside within the cloistered space of the harem, or the recumbent pale-skinned odalisque, or nude attended by a dark-skinned woman of African descent were construed, in part, to reinforce the binarism of black and white.

Academic painter and Orientalist *par excellence* Jean-Léon Gérôme, for example, adhered to the notion that racial difference can be rendered authoritatively by the opposition of black and white vis-à-vis the skin color of a woman of African descent and a Caucasian woman

[80] The pictorial trope of the white woman of rank and black servant was frequently deployed in seventeenth-century portraiture. The female sitter imparts decorum and self-control, while the black is diminutive, infantilized, and servile. For an insightful exploration of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century portraits of white women and their black servants, see Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture."

in the *Moorish Bath* [Figure 6], 1870. In this image, to which I will return in my chapter on Bazille's images of the black female, Gérôme separated the two women in a number of ways. They are physically apart (although one could argue that the overlapping of the black woman's left hand by the white woman's back is a minor transgression of this disjunction) and somatically dissimilar. Gérôme emphasized the soft, plump, and rounded body of the white woman which calls attention to the angular and muscular torso of the black woman, leaving her femininity in doubt.[81] But the most conspicuous difference between the two women is the contrast of skin color: the nude's pearlescent flesh tones played against the deep brown hues of the black woman's skin color. The polarity between light and dark extends, as well, to the general color scheme of the bath in which saturated blues and greens form the background from which the black woman emerges while the white woman is placed against a wall composed of pale blues and pinks. Gérôme, it can be argued, responded indifferently to the qualified statements about the relative nature of the Caucasian woman's skin color proffered by members of the scientific establishment. Nor did he, it seems, consider the admission by those making and writing about visual culture that multiple skin tones could be observed within the white French population. Gérôme's pictorial formulation leaves little doubt that whiteness was fixed and secured by boundaries that could not be breached by its intimate proximity to blackness.

But blackness is needed, paradoxically, as a companion to whiteness to intensify the latter's singularity. Indeed, the whiteness of the nude model's skin color owes its prominence to the stark division between the light and dark values of the nude's and the attendant's coloring. In purely formal terms, the neat division of dark and light passages in Gérôme's painting followed a pictorial strategy of employing contrasts between dark and light tonal value of equal proportion

[81] I discuss the way in which Gérôme rendered the black model's breasts in this image and the disparaging manner in which the breasts of African women were described in nineteenth-century racialist taxonomies in my chapter on Bazille's images of the black female.

to create a harmonious and balanced composition.[82] In a racialist context, Gérôme's duality of dark and light skin coloring is anything but harmonious. The discordant relationship between the black woman's taut, rough, dark brown skin and her aesthetically displeasing form and the white nude's uniform coloring and supple skin invokes a racialist, indeed a racist, reading that affirmed racial difference, as well as the beauty and superior status of whiteness. The clarity of Gérôme's pictorial illusionism, his counterfeit "ethnographic" realism, served this ideology well.[83]

Admittedly, Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* and Gérôme's Orientalist image bear no resemblance in pictorial processes or subject matter. In the *Moorish Bath*, Gérôme conjures a fanciful, distant, and constructed setting in which a black and a white woman – a sub-Saharan African and a Caucasian living inexplicably in a north African setting – co-exist, yet are conceived as incommensurable. Degas's avant-garde method of blurring the contours of some of the objects in the composition, applying broad passages of unmodulated pigment, and suffusing the composition with analogous warm hues certainly sets his art-making practice apart from Gérôme's. Degas's formal choices – particularly the dark and light pigment that skims across the surface of Mme Camus's face, hands, and bosom – can also be understood to signify metaphorically a kind of blurring of racial boundaries that the *Moorish Bath* attempts to sustain. Unlike Gérôme, Degas does not employ the black presence as a foil against which the whiteness of Mme Camus's complexion is heightened. Rather, Degas exploits the chromatic and value relationships between

---

[82] For an excellent reading and contextualization of an image in which a black and a white male are juxtaposed, see Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 9-64, particularly 14, and 42-49, for her analysis of Anne-Louis Girodet's portrait of *Jean-Baptiste Belley*, 1797.

[83] Gérôme (1824-1904) established a reputation in the 1857 Salon as a *peintre ethnographique*. The public responded enthusiastically to the presumed scientific veracity and minutely rendered details of his images set in exotic North Africa and the Middle East. However, critics such as Émile Zola, Antoine Castagnary, and Paul Mantz derided Gérôme for the elevation of his *tour de force* technique at the expense of realism. See Gerald M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, with a Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986) and Mary Anne Stevens, ed., *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse: The Allure of North Africa and the Far East*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984), 21-22 and 138-141.

the sculpture's shadow and the dim, artificial lighting and shadows that obscure Mme Camus's face to complicate notions of racial difference. The color of Mme Camus's face, composed of reddish-brown hues, is certainly discrete from the cream-colored pigment that Degas applies to her chest. Mme Camus's darkened visage and pale décolletage represent a fragmenting and splitting[84] of the white body that compels us to consider the construction of whiteness, as well as the doubling (or fracturing) of racial identity and, ultimately, racial hybridity. We must consider that racial hybridity is not simply the fusion or blending of two separate beings, but can be understood, according to Robert J. C. Young, as "the forcing of a single entity into two or more parts, a severing of an object into two, turning sameness into difference."[85] Degas's treatment of Mme Camus's skin can be seen as a kind of splintering of the single entity (Mme Camus) into two parts: her form is at once familiar and strange, legible and obscured, dark and white, sexualized and chaste.

Racial Purity/Racial Mixing

If we can construe Degas's portrait as an allusion to nineteenth-century conceptions of racial mixing or to the instability of racial identity, we must place Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* within the context of the scientific discourse that certainly validated racist ideology, but also acknowledged that it was impossible for most races to claim racial purity. By mid-century, racialist science was guided by the newly established discipline of physical anthropology which approached the study of human beings from a materialist position, relying on biology and

[84] I borrow the words, "splitting" and "doubling," from Homi Bhabha who uses them to invoke the disruption of the colonizer's sense of wholeness when confronting the colonized Other. In his essay, "Sly Civility," he writes: "[T]he subject of colonial discourse – splitting, doubling, turning into its opposite, projecting – is a subject of such affective ambivalence and discursive disturbance, that the narrative of English history can only ever beg the 'colonial' question." See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (1994; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 137-138.

[85] Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race,* 26.

anatomy to sanction its pronouncements. Skin color, hair texture, length of forearm, size of pelvis and genitalia, breast shape, and facial angles of dark-skinned and light-skinned races were measured, analyzed, indexed, and compared to confirm and strengthen what had been implied in earlier centuries: dark-skinned people were intellectually and aesthetically inferior to the "white" races. Surgeon and anthropologist Paul Broca articulated this bias in 1866 when he wrote in the *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales*: "Never has a people with dark skin, wooly hair, and a prognathous face been able to spontaneously elevate itself to civilization …"[86]

Anthropologists also introduced techniques for the comparative measurement of cranial shape and capacity. Interestingly, the focus on the brain cavity allowed anthropologists an opportunity to skirt the problem of having to explain exceptions to what had been purported as the fixed external physical traits of distinct human races. If skin color could be unreliable in defining race, what other physical traits could be suspected of failing to fix racial boundaries as well? Anthropological and ethnological science struggled to sustain the argument in favor of relatively racially pure populations based on morphology, physiology, and origins, but concessions were made that human beings shared some physical characteristics.[87] The acknowledgement that the white person's physical attributes were not unique compelled European race theorists to contemplate the mixing of races and a more fluid notion of European (as well as national) racial identity.[88]

---

[86] Broca quoted in Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 179. Also see William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880*, 226; and Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 116.

[87] Anthropologist and monogenist Armand de Quatrefages (1810-1892) offered a rebuttal to polygenism and argued for the unity of the human species in *L'espèce humaine* (Paris: Germer-Baillière, 1877).

[88] On the theory of racial mixing in France, see Paul Broca, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, ed. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1864), 21-24. Broca asserted that the Celts (dark in coloring) and the Kimris (blonde with light skin coloring) formed the primary ethnic strands of the modern French and that their intermixing was eugenetic. His views were upheld by his colleague, Paul Topinard in *L'anthropologie* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1876). Also see Claude Blanckaert, "Of Monstrous Métis? Hybridity, Fear of

Racial mixing and the resulting "hybrid" progeny of inter-racial unions had been the subject of numerous texts – political, scientific, and cultural – throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Fears were voiced about the corruption of French blood in the colonies and the debasement of European civilization through racial mixing. In the words of one eighteenth-century French colonist, Louis-Narcisse Baudry-Deslozières, miscegenation was no longer limited to the French Antilles, but "this corruption only too overwhelmingly spreads across all parts of France."[89] A less anxious view was expressed in 1839 by Gustave d'Eichthal, member and secretary of the Société d'ethnologique de Paris, who wondered if "the new mulatto humanity" was "destined to transform over time the ancient races that had given it birth."[90] In 1845, Eichthal pronounced that the white and black races, the ancient races he referenced in 1839, would produce "a mixed race destined to play a great role in the future."[91]

Implicit in both Baudry-Deslozières's and Eichthal's rhetoric is, of course, the reality of inter-racial sex. Robert J. C. Young emphatically underscores in *Colonial Desire*: *Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* that racialist theory seemed preoccupied with notions of aberrant sex: "Nineteenth-century theories of race did not just consist of essentializing differentiations between self and other; they were also about a fascination with people having sex … illicit, inter-

---

Miscegenation, and Patriotism from Buffon to Paul Broca," in *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, ed. Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 43-70.

[89] Louis-Narcisse Baudry-Deslozières, *Les Egaremens du nigrophilisme*, 1802, quoted in Grigsby, *Extremities*: *Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, 268. Also see Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 124-133, for her examination of eighteenth-century French political documents proscribing inter-racial marriage in France.

[90] Gustave d'Eichthal and Ismayl Urbain, *Lettres sur la race noire et la race blanche* (Paris: Chez Paulin, 1839), 61: "[L]a nouvelle humanité mulâtre? ou bien celle-ci est-elle destinée à transformer en elle-même, avec le temps, les races primitives qui lui ont donné naissance?" For the history of the Société d'ethnologique, see Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans*, 218; and Staum, *Labelling People*: *French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848*, 122-157.

[91] Gustave d'Eichthal quoted in Elizabeth A. Williams, "The Science of Man: Anthropological Thought and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1983), 58. Also see Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People*, 138-139.

racial sex."[92] It was understood that the union of a white male and a black female upheld the male colonizer's right to violate and/or possess the female colonized body.[93] While tending to shock, the union of a white man and a black woman did not incite the same level of concern about the viability of civilization and French cultural identity as did the pairing of a white woman and a black man. Some scientific treatises assuaged concerns about this taboo subject. Prominent French comparative anatomist and embryologist Étienne Serres, writing at mid-century, claimed it was physically impossible due to the incompatible size of the sexual organs of each race: nature had proscribed this union.[94] Paul Broca, the leading proponent of French anthropology and founder of the Société d'anthroplogie de Paris in 1859, adapted Serres's ideas and asserted in *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, published in 1864, that "the union of the Negro with a white woman is frequently sterile, whilst that of a white man with a negress is perfectly fecund."[95] While not disavowing the reality and fecundity of inter-racial unions between white males and black females (an undeniable reality in French colonies where mixed-raced progeny would remain), Broca, an advocate of polygenism, focused more on the vitality and strength of hybrid offspring which could result from the union of members of different races. The graduation of rates of fertility between races – those races physically closest to each another experienced higher rates of fecundity than those with seemingly disparate physical traits – led him to conclude that the fecund union of white women and black men, which represented a credible threat to the racial makeup of France, was not realistic. Broca's studies on

[92] Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race,* 181.
[93] Grisgby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, 263.
[94] Serres quoted in Paul Broca, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo,* 28. Broca studied under Serres (1786–1868).
[95] Ibid., 28-29.

eugenetic hybridity disavowed the notion of an impending threat to French or European culture.[96]

Another publication, polemical and hypothetical rather than scientific, had ten years earlier already established the link between miscegenation and the demise of European civilization. This seminal work, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, written at mid-century by Arthur de Gobineau, proffered a sober and pessimistic view of the future of Western (white) dominance and superiority. Gobineau claimed that none of the three human races – white, yellow, or black according to his racial taxonomy – could be considered pure because of racial mixing. Most troubling in Gobineau's essay was the assertion that the white race, responsible for securing and preserving civilization, had lost much of its vigor – in Gobineau's words, the white race had "degenerated" – through racial mixing. He writes: "The white race originally possessed the monopoly of beauty, intelligence, and strength. By its union with other varieties, hybrids were created, which were beautiful without strength, strong without intelligence, or, if intelligent, both weak and ugly."[97] Michel Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* encapsulates the significance of Gobineau's racist ideology for the nineteenth century and the association of racial purity with the social body and the family as surrogates for white, European culture:

> Beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, the thematics of blood was sometimes called on to lend its entire historical weight toward revitalizing the type of political power that was exercised through the devices of sexuality.

---

[96] Broca, a professor of clinical surgery (whose area of specialization was the brain) at the Paris Faculté de Médecine from 1853, was also the leading anthropologist of his day. On Broca's work in anthropology, see Williams, "The Science of Man: Anthropological Thought and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France," 79-129; and Francis Schiller, *Paul Broca, Founder of French Anthropology, Explorer of the Brain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). Staum, in *Labelling People*: *French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848***,** 174, states that by 1865, the Société d' anthropologie de Paris had 300 members. Marilyn R. Brown in her examination of Degas's image, *Miss La La at the Cirque Ferando*, 1879, discusses Degas's interest in natural history, racialist science, and his connection to the Société d' anthropologie through his friend Ludovic Lepic who became a member in 1870. See Brown, "'Miss La La's' Teeth: Reflections on Degas and 'Race,'" *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (December 2007): 738-765, particularly 751 and 763, n. 66.

[97] Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967), 209.

> Racism took shape at this point (racism in its modern, "biologizing," statist term): it was then that a whole politics of settlement (*peuplement*), family, marriage, education, social hierarchization, and property, accompanied by a long series of permanent interventions at the level of the body, conduct, health, and everyday life, received their color and their justification from the mythical concern with protecting the purity of the blood and ensuring the triumph of the race.[98]

Gobineau's rhetoric was meant to dispel complacency about the debased state of European civilization, but his pronouncements about racial hybridity also raised questions about the moral character that was considered an intrinsic element of racial make-up. If blacks were savage, sexualized, intellectually inferior beings, did these characteristics compromise the European whose blood was irreparably contaminated by the effects of racial mixing as Gobineau alleged? Was one of the material signs of racial mixing, the amalgam of skin color, an outward sign of intemperate impulses? This was, perhaps, more troubling to contemplate than the physical adulteration of the white body.

I would like to suggest that the darkened face of Mme Camus, which is alleviated only by faint traces of light pigment along the contour of the profile and on her forehead, could have conjured an impression of the *sang-mêlé* (mixed-blood), who, in the French imaginary, embodied racial instability and heightened sensuality. It is not my intention to suggest that Degas is somehow staging a change of race for Mme Camus. But I am arguing that Degas is articulating the untenable notions of racial purity that had been conceded by Gobineau and other race theorists at mid-century, as well as expressing disquieting ambivalence about bourgeois female sexuality which acknowledged simultaneously the *bourgeoise's* respectability and virtue as well as her potential for indecorous behavior. Foucault, in *The History of Sexuality*, argues that in the nineteenth century the "feminine body was analyzed … as being thoroughly saturated with

---

[98] Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, 149. Also see Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 50. Stoler frames her study of colonialism, sexuality, and race through Foucault's *History of Sexuality*.

sexuality." Rather than repressed, female sexuality was governed and, according to Foucault, "it was placed in organic communication with the social body (whose regulated fecundity it was supposed to ensure), the family space … and the life of children."[99] In the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, Degas complicates the expectations for proper bourgeois femininity by entwining the suggestion of a seductive, sexualized female and a modestly beguiling *bourgeoise* vis-à-vis the darkened face and hands of Mme Camus and her pale bosom.

During the nineteenth century, the *sang-mêlé* served as the primary embodiment of aberrant sexuality.[100] Viewed as the result of illicit attraction between a white male and a black female, the *sang-mêlé* assumed a racial identity that was defined as "an ambiguous caste, without rank, without a fixed state," as nineteenth-century racial theorist Julien-Joseph Virey pronounced.[101] And yet, the brown, hybrid body was fixed and inscribed as a highly sexualized body. Virey also characterized the *sang-mêlé* as "healthy, well-formed, supple, agile, and vigorous."[102] It was the *sang-mêlé* who exemplified the extremes of sexual appetites, more so than the black woman, because she represented the offspring of the taboo relationship between a black woman and a white male. John Garrigus points out in his study of eighteenth-century French fiction set in Saint-Domingue that "[m]any writers concluded that mulatto women corrupted white men with highly developed sexual skills. No account of Saint Domingue in the

---

[99] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, 104.

[100] For an historical account of racial mixing in nineteenth- and twentieth-century French and Dutch colonies, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002). Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, 260-264, and John Garrigus, "Race, Gender, and Virtue in Haiti's Failed Foundational Fiction: *La mulâtre comme il y a peu de blanches* (1803),"in *The Color of Liberty*, 77-79, document the efforts by French authorities to characterize blood-mixing as an imminent moral peril to the state. Grigsby and Garrigus also expose the misogynist fascination with the mulatta.

[101] Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2:185: "Ils forment une caste ambiguë, sans rang, sans état fixe."

[102] Ibid., 193: "Cependant les individus qui en proviennent sont, en général, robustes et bien conformées, souples, agiles, et nerveux."

1770s or 1780s was complete without a description of these tropical temptresses."[103] The stereotyping of the heightened sexuality of dark-skinned women and men, racially pure or *sang-mêlé*, proliferated throughout the nineteenth century in literary texts such as Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales*, 1829, and *Bug-Jargal*, 1826; Charles Baudelaire's cycle of poems in *Les fleurs du mal*, 1857, dedicated to *La Vénus noire*;[104] Prosper Mérimée's *Carmen*, 1845; and Émile Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*, 1866-1867, the latter two exploiting the contemporary conception of the overtly sexual nature of the mixed-blood female.[105] In Zola's novel, the source of Thérèse's sensuality and insatiable desire for her husband's childhood friend, Laurent, is attributed to her half-African blood. In the initial passages of the narrative, Thérèse's fair-skin and passive demeanor do not mirror the intense passions she keeps suppressed. At Thérèse's and Laurent's first sexual encounter, Zola explicitly articulates the bond between biology and moral behavior: "All the instincts of a highly-strung woman burst forth with exceptional violence. Her mother's blood, that African blood burning in her veins, began to flow …"[106] If whiteness signified purity, decency, and self-discipline, black, brown, or simply blushed skin could indicate an active libido for a woman.

Why does Degas render Mme Camus's skin in such a way that could compromise not only her virtue, but also her racial identity? And why did Degas's unconventional representation of a respectable *haute-bourgeoise* fail to raise any alarms for the critics or Degas's intimate

---

[103] Garrigus, "Race, Gender, and Virtue in Haiti's Failed Foundational Fiction," 77.

[104] The "Black Venus" poems in *Les fleurs du mal* are associated with Baudelaire's mistress, Jeanne Duval, who has frequently been described by scholars as a mulatta. On Duval's racial identity, see Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), 261-269; and Therese Dolan, "Skirting the Issue: Manet's *Portrait of Baudelaire's Mistress, Reclining*," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 611-629.

[105] For studies of the way in which French writers conflated skin color and base behavior, see Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus*: *Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); and Sylvie Chalaye, *Du noir au nègre: l'image du noir au théaître: de Marguerite de Navarre à Jean Genet (1550-1960*) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998).

[106] Émile Zola, *Thérèse Raquin*, trans. Robin Buss (London: Penguin, 2004), 36.

circle? For the most part, the aesthetic of whiteness – particularly a woman's white skin as the exemplar of purity and beauty – was upheld by the collective values of nineteenth-century French society. Certainly, Mme Camus's portrait appears to reject that standard of beauty. Yet, another paradigm of desirability, one that was marked by its separation from absolute whiteness and inscribed by eroticism and alterity, roused the French imagination as much as it generated anxiety about racial identity. Degas's two images of Mme Camus affirmed this dichotomy in aesthetics. When Degas altered the complexion of Mme Camus in *Mme Camus at the Piano* from conventional paleness to darkened shadow in his second portrait, he did not create an aesthetically displeasing hybrid "monster" or efface her likeness with a mask that completely concealed her fair skin color. Instead, I believe Degas, who was aware of the polemics of racial difference that confronted French society at mid-century,[107] seems to be acknowledging that the French at home were no longer immune from inter-racial mixing. The *Portrait of Mme Camus* can be understood as a strategy of framing that debate in terms of the bourgeoisie.

To delineate racial divisions by skin color was by no means uncontested during the time in which Degas painted Mme Camus's portrait. The tenuous racialist arguments regarding purity of blood and absolute whiteness could not be sustained by even the most steadfast proponents of these positions. Moreover, despite some protestations against racial mixing, the reality of miscegenation and the myriad racial taxonomies that resulted from inter-racial unions seriously limited the ability

[107] Degas's interest in the natural sciences and physiognomy is examined by Marilyn R. Brown, "'Miss La La's' Teeth: Reflections on Degas and 'Race,'" and by Douglas W. Druick and Peter Zegers, "Scientific Realism: 1873-1881," in *Degas*, exh. cat., ed. Jean Sutherland Boggs (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988), 197-211. Dissemination of Gobineau's racialist views was not limited to the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. Degas's notebooks indicate the artist's familiarity with Gobineau's *Trois ans en Asie*, 1859. Reff, in cataloguing Notebook 18, dated 1859-1864, p. 197, describes a "tracing of a reproduction of the Persian mural *Lady and Her Maid* … made from the woodcut in A. de Gobineau, 'Voyage en Perse fragments'" See Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, vol. 1:99. Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* was reviewed by anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages for the arts and culture journal *Revue des deux mondes*. See "Du Croisement des races humanes," *Revue des deux mondes* 8 (March 1, 1857): 159-189. On Gobineau's influence during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Jacques Barzun, *Race: A Study in Superstition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 72-109.

to determine a person's race by the color of their skin. I do not want to suggest that racialist ideology was eclipsed by widespread countervailing, progressive attitudes. In fact, the dissolution of firm racial boundaries pushed racialist scientific theory to espouse extreme positions: the adoption of polygenesis, the gendering of non-white races as feminine, the assertion that hybrid races were sterile, and the resignation that European culture was irreversibly contaminated. Their findings, however, proved irreducible. Numerous inconsistencies in their arguments underscored the inherent weakness of their conclusions. Paradoxically, many racialist theorists could not resist projecting desirability and fantasy onto the black, brown, and yellow body.

Throughout the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, Gobineau repeatedly imputes the physical attributes of dark-skinned races as physically and aesthetically inferior to the white race. Beauty is unassailably determined by the degree to which it is perceived as white. Gobineau points to the example of "the degenerate Aryan stocks of India and Persia, and the Semitic peoples who are least infected by contact with the black race" and whose appearance could once be characterized as close to the beauty of whites. As these populations "recede from the white type," Gobineau argues, their form becomes misshapen, defective, and ugly. Yet, in the footnote that accompanies his pronouncement against any pleasing physical characteristics of mixed-blood progeny, Gobineau contradicts himself by praising unexpectedly the physical attributes of the union of the black and white races. He writes, "It may be remarked that the happiest blend, from the point of view of beauty, is that made by the marriage of white and black. We need only put the striking charm of many mulatto, Creole, and quadroon women by the side of such mixtures of yellow and white as the Russians and Hungarians. The comparison is not to the advantage of the latter."[108] Gobineau's essay, while positing a pessimistic vision for the future of European civilization because of racial mixing, nevertheless admits that the separation of the races is futile. Human beings are driven by

[108] Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, 151.

two laws of nature: "one of repulsion, the other of attraction" for other races.[109] His flattering description of the various combinations of white and black acknowledges the strength of the latter impulse and its positive outcome as it relates, at least, to beauty.[110] Gobineau may lament that the damage has been done to European blood, but he also concedes that where racial mixing has occurred, "the racial units … are more capable of development."[111]

As early as the eighteenth century, the Créole jurist Moreau de Saint-Méry, in his history of French colonial rule in Saint-Domingue, 1797-1798, conjured a tempting and formidable presence when he described the inherent erotic nature of the mulatta as well as the robust health of the mixed-raced person: "The entire being of a mulatto woman is given up to love, and the fire of this goddess burns in her heart, to be extinguished only with her life. … Nature, in some way the accessory to pleasure, has given her charms, appeal, and sensibility."[112] Far from being a monster, the mulatto manifested signs of attractiveness and vigor prompting Moreau de Saint-Méry to concede that "[o]f all the combinations of white and negroes, the mulatto is the one who derives the greatest physical advantages. … To the soberness and the strength of the negro, he joins the bodily grace and the intelligence of the white."[113] The qualities of vitality and beauty competed

---

[109] Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, 30.

[110] Ibid., 207-209. Indeed, Gobineau's essay presents inconsistent arguments about the superiority of the "white" races and the danger to civilization from race mixing. Gobineau maintained that when the white and black races mix, the creative and sensual qualities intrinsic to the black races enhance the superior rational impulses of white races. Also see Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, 112-115.

[111] Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, 30.

[112] Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *A Civilization That Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti*. *A Topographical, Physical, Civil, Political and Historical Description of the French Part of the Island of Santo Domingo*, trans. and ed. Ivor D. Spencer (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), 81-82.

[113] Moreau de Saint-Méry, *A Civilization That Perished*, 76. Despite admitting the vigor of the mulatto, Moreau de Saint-Méry qualifies his statement by citing the inability of hybrid races to remain fertile beyond first generations. For an analysis of this conclusion and Moreau de Saint-Méry's racial classifications, see Doris Garraway, "Race, Reproduction and Family Romance in Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Description … de la partie française de l'isle Saint-Domingue*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (2005): 227-246. On the theory of sterility in hybrid races, see also Broca, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*. Werner Sollors in *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 112-141, presents a considerable number of nineteenth-century sources that attest to both the comeliness as well as the frightful appearance of the mulatto. My focus has been to seek out those exceptions that contest the conventional belief that inter-racial unions produced only a degraded and debased body.

with descriptions of debased and unnatural attributes assigned to persons of mixed blood.[114] In fact, while not equaling the number of derisive accounts of the mulatto's physical form and stamina, numerous nineteenth-century texts extolled the physical charm of the mixed-blood person.

In his polemical work on the status of womanhood, *La Femme*, historian Jules Michelet praised the varying beauty of the mulatta. Like the *négresse,* the mulatta was conceived by Michelet as a sensual, seductive being whose nature is to love (Michelet flattered his male reader by claiming that the black woman is instinctively attracted to the white man). Yet, remarkably, within one short passage, Michelet not only celebrated the mulatta's appeal, but he also proffered an analogy between the *sang-mêlé* and the French woman whose ardor, sensuousness, and desirability Michelet associated with darkness, shadow, and mystery. He writes:

> We find an unknown source of beauty in the black race. The red rose, which was formerly the only hue admired, has, we must confess, but little variety. Thanks to the art which combines, we have the numberless tea-roses now, with their thousand shades, – and others still more delicate, veined or tinted with faint blue. Our great painter, Prud'hon has painted nothing more lovingly than the beautiful dark woman in the hall of the Louvre. She is a little in the shade, like a mystery unveiling itself. Her beauty is seen as through a cloud. Her lovely eyes are not large, but deep, and full of expression. The spectator, who perhaps sees in her what is in his own heart, regards her as Night shrouded in Passion.[115]

---

[114] For two examples of sources with which Degas would have been familiar, see Victor Hugo's novel, *Bug-Jargal*, 1826, in which Hugo recapitulates the complex matrix of inter-racial unions established by Moreau de Saint-Méry and uses the slave revolt in Haiti to explore the taboo subject of the black male's desire for the white female; and Alexandre Dumas *père's* novel, *Georges*, 1843, for the theme of the mutual attraction between a white Créole woman and a free man of color.

[115] Michelet, *Woman,* 135. The image to which Michelet refers may be Pierre-Paul Prud'hon's *L'Impératrice Joséphine*, 1805, in the Musée du Louvre. In this image, Joséphine is indeed emerging from a dark background and shadow, but her skin tone is decidedly pale. One should also note that Michelet was a founding member of the Société d'ethnologique whose mission was to study scientifically and objectively the differences among the races. See Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848*, 132. Todd B. Porterfield, "David's *Sacre*," in *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 160, describes the manner in which Joséphine's complexion was whitened and rouged in J.-L. David's *The Consecration of Emperor Napoleon*, 1806-1807, as a means of mitigating her Créole racial identity and "her dark complexion." Joséphine's Créole background generated misgivings about her problematic racial identity so it was deemed imperative to "whiten" her for the *Le Sacre* as it was for her to wear heavy make-up at Napoleon's coronation.

If Michelet bestowed a darker countenance on the white woman as the physical manifestation of her sensual nature, other writers sought to complicate racial identity by effacing traces of the *sang-mêlé's* dark coloring. The pronouncement by one of Eugène Sue's characters in *Les Mystères de Paris*, 1843, invokes racial indeterminacy: "It requires the pitiless eye of a Creole to detect the *mixed blood* in the all but imperceptible shade which lightly tinges her rosy finger-nails. Our fresh and hale beauties of the north have not a more transparent complexion, nor a skin of more dazzling whiteness."[116]

While the blood may contain vestiges of blackness, skin color failed to signify race. The amalgam of degrees of whiteness and blackness in hybrid progeny complicated securing racial identity. However, in the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, the bifurcation of Mme Camus's skin tone into dark and light, with little gradation between the dark and light hues, emphasized degrees of whiteness and darkness that cannot overtake each other. Degas's doubling of skin color in Mme Camus's portrait, more so than representing an amalgamation of white and black, may be seen as a way of addressing the conflicting impulse to acknowledge and suppress racial difference. What makes the *Portrait of Mme Camus* compelling is Degas's decision to particularize this equivocation within the context of the respectable *haute bourgeoise*, implicating the upper classes in the debate over racial purity and transgressing their boundaries of class and racial exclusivity.

Indeed, the ambiguous articulation of Mme Camus's racial identity complicates and calls into question her social position. The dark-skinned body was perceived as a body marked by class. As I have demonstrated, frequently, the mixed-raced woman was defined by her overt sexuality and promiscuity. It was commonly believed the *sang-mêlé* resided in the margins of

[116] Eugène Sue, *The Mysteries of Paris*, vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1845), 179. Sue's character is describing the *sang-mêlé*, Cecily, who is the offspring of "a white and a Quadroon slave."

French society, both in the colonies and in the metropole. As reassuring as this fiction must have been to the French bourgeoisie, the truth is that many free *gens de couleur* owned property and slaves in the colonies and enjoyed a modicum of respect from white populations. While never able to expunge completely the stigma of being *sang-mêlé*, people of color could transcend the boundaries that circumscribed their visibility and moral conduct. The complex negotiations among black, white, and degrees of *sang-mêlé,* between French and Spanish, and free person and slave can be charted across the racial and cultural landscape of French-Créole Louisiana. For Degas, his Créole mother's background was a reminder of the marginality of racial nomenclature or skin color to signify race and social rank.[117]

The ethnic origins of Créole identity are heterogeneous – European and African ancestry deemed separate and paired – and, like the dissolution of racial purity through miscegenation, the meaning of the term is fraught with ambiguity.[118] Writing in the early twentieth century, Créole poet and journalist Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson describes the barely undifferentiated appearance of the white Créoles and mixed-race Créoles in New Orleans. In this passage portraying the patrons of the French Opera House, she writes: "Above the orchestra circle were four tiers, the first filled with a second array of beautiful women, attired like those of the first, with no apparent difference; yet these were the octoroons and quadroons whose beauty and wealth were all the passports needed." Later, she articulates the dilemma facing those who wanted to delineate race: "The free people of color, however, kept on amassing wealth and educating their children as ever

[117] See Christopher Benfey, "Degas and New Orleans: Exorcizing the Exotic," in *Degas and New Orleans: A French Impressionist in America*, 23-31, for details about Degas's mother's (Célestine Musson Degas's) family in New Orleans, and her first cousin, Norbert Rillieux, a free man of color.

[118] Sybil Kein, scholar of Louisiana Créole culture, quotes from the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 1980, for its definition of Créole: "In the United States, in the twentieth century, Creole most often refers to the Louisiana Creoles of color. Ranging in appearance from mulattos to northern European whites, the Creoles of color constitute a Caribbean phenomenon in the United States. The product of miscegenation in a seigneurial society, they achieved elite status in Louisiana, and in the early nineteenth century some were slaveholders." See *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, ed. Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), xiii.

in spite of opposition, for it is difficult to enforce laws against a race when you cannot find that race."[119]

It is difficult to ascertain the degree to which Degas understood the multivalent nature of Créole culture and, by its definition, the allusions to racial mixing that may have been part of his mother's family genealogy. However, it is conceivable that Degas would have been exposed to the racialist ideology rooted in the deeply conflicted notion of Louisiana Créole identity through conversations with his aunt, Odile Musson, and cousins, Estelle and Désirée, who resided in Bourg-en-Bresse, France during the American Civil War, and with his brother René, who subsequently moved to New Orleans in 1865.[120] We also get a sense of this in letters Degas wrote from New Orleans during his visit in 1872-1873, in which he articulated the imprecise color boundaries among the black and the mixed-blood cultures of Louisiana. If, in New Orleans, the distinction between ladies of fashion who are white or mixed-blood did not elicit concern, as Dunbar-Nelson recounts, this may explain René Degas's unqualified admiration for the *Portrait of Mme Camus* when he saw it in 1872. Writing to his wife, Estelle Musson, he expressed delight: "He has a portrait of Mme Camus in profile in a garnet red velvet dress, seated in a brown armchair against a pink background which, for me, is purely a masterpiece. His drawing is something ravishing."[121]

Evidence strongly suggests that Degas was a racist. Marilyn R. Brown has traced Degas's views on race in his letters and argues convincingly that Degas harbored negative attitudes towards blacks as did many of his generation. His anti-Semitism is substantiated by statements

---

[119] Alice Moore Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, 27-29.

[120] See Marilyn R. Brown, "A Tale of Two Families: The De Gas-Musson Correspondence at Tulane University," in *Degas and New Orleans*, 81, for her translation of letters by Degas's cousin, Désirée Musson, his father Auguste Degas, and his brother, René Degas, expressing racist attitudes.

[121] Quoted in Brown, "A Tale of Two Families," *Degas and New Orleans*, 74.

he made during the Dreyfus Affair, and he subscribed to pseudo-scientific ideas about criminal physiognomy.[122] However implacable his views towards blacks and Jews may have been, his correspondence from New Orleans offers nuanced reactions to Louisiana's black population. During his stay in New Orleans, visiting his mother's family, the Mussons, between October 1872 and March 1873, Degas's encounters and fascination with black culture and the black body are revealed in a series of letters written to his friends in Paris. Although Degas's trip to New Orleans post-dates the *Portrait of Mme Camus* by three years, his correspondence to friends in Paris provides another, more direct manifestation of Degas's attitudes toward race and racial difference. While not explicitly expressing racist views, Degas's remarks about blacks seem more occupied with his aesthetic response to differences of skin hue.

Degas's letters reflected a keen observation of blacks within and outside the Musson household. Corresponding with Lorenze Frölich, Degas commented, "Everything attracts me here. I look at everything. … I like nothing better than the negresses of all shades, holding in their arms little white babies, so white against white houses. … [And the] bustle of the offices with this immense black animal force, etc. etc. And the pretty women of pure blood and the pretty twenty-five year olds and the well set up negresses!"[123] Interestingly, only one image from his stay in New Orleans depicts a black, and this attribution remains debatable. In *Courtyard of a House* (*New Orleans, Sketch*), 1873 [Figure 7], the figure in the lower left of the composition has been identified as one of the black nannies employed by the Musson family to care for the

[122] For more on Degas's racist views, see Marilyn R. Brown, *Degas and the Business of Art: The 'Cotton Office' in New Orleans* (University Park: Published for College Art Association by The Pennsylvania State University, 1994), 36-37, and "'Miss La La's' Teeth: Reflections on Degas and 'Race.'" Degas's anti-Semitism is examined by Linda Nochlin, "Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 141-169. Also see Anthea Callen, "Anatomy and Physiognomy: Degas' *Little Dancer of Fourteen Years*," in *Degas, Images of Women*, exh. cat., Richard Kendall, et al. (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1989), 10-17, for her discussion of "deviant" physiognomy in Degas's representation of the young dancer.

[123] *Degas and New Orleans*, Letter to Frölich, November 27, 1872; 292-293.

growing number of children in the household, four of whom are also depicted. The visage of the seated figure on the doorstep is concealed by broadly applied strokes of brown pigment so that only a hint of a nose in profile provides any clue of a face. The face, veiled or covered by a bonnet, is so occluded that scholars can only speculate as to the figure's identity and race.[124]

The Sculpture and the Black Male Body

There were few blacks living in Paris in the last half of the nineteenth century. After 1848, when slavery was abolished by the French, citizens of the colonies in the Antilles were allowed to enter France and, in law, were considered "comme les autres."[125] After 1876, Senegalese were also granted the rights of the native-born French. Yet, despite a state policy towards immigration that could be considered progressive, the black population remained small in France and opportunities for employment were restricted for the most part to domestic work, the military, and the theater.[126] After the mid-1870s, performances and displays of indigenous African cultures were presented at a variety of venues including the circus, the music hall, and ethnographic exhibitions at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation* and the *Expositions universelles* in Paris. In 1869, Degas would have relied on secondary sources for his depiction of the African male, including fiction, travel literature, natural history publications, and the few contemporary images of the black male available for him to see.[127]

---

[124] Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Degas and New Orleans*, 216-218. Also see Degas's letter to Désiré Dihau, dated November 11, 1872, Degas describes the black governesses who supervised his cousins' children as "negresses of different shades" (290).

[125] Blanchard, et al., *Le Paris noir*, 16.

[126] Ibid., 16-21.

[127] We can infer Degas's interest in the image of the African male from his tracing of a woodcut, an illustration of a generic "African warrior" reproduced from a travel narrative, that he included in one of his notebooks dated between 1859 and 1864. The semi-nude figure, wearing a thigh-length skirt and holding a spear, stands on one leg; while the other leg is bent and suspended in the air. This representation of an African male is similar to the one he fashioned for the image of the sculpture in the *Portrait of Mme Camus*. See Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, vol. 1:100, Notebook 18, p. 205. The travel narrative from which the image is taken is *Voyage aux grands lacs de l'Afrique orientale* by the English writer Captain Richard Burton.

The perception of the African male, while not constant throughout the century, remained tethered to the notion of a sexualized and emotional being.[128] Virey offered a vivid picture of a being whose actions are governed by sensual gratification: "[A]ll his body is agitated, trembling with pleasure, every one of his muscles is engaged in the dance; amorous passion animates all of his actions; his gestures become lustful; they express the desire that consumes him."[129] Gobineau concurred with Virey and maintained that the black's presumed proclivity for physical gratification, including violence, was evidence of his inferior position: "[H]e often has an intensity of desire, and so of will, which may be called terrible. … The very strength of his sensations is the most striking proof of his inferiority."[130]

Degas's inclusion of the sculpture of a partially-clad African male is a further material sign of sexuality – the black male's and Mme Camus's – in the *Portrait of Mme Camus*. The stance of the half-dressed male figure is exaggerated by the sway of the pelvis and hips so that the viewer can only see the curved form of the sculpture's body and its exaggerated twin shadow. The graceful pose of the semi-nude figure colluded with other racialist attitudes that prevailed during the century. Throughout the nineteenth century, naturalists and anthropologists asserted a physiognomic and intellectual correlation between blacks, particularly the black male, and Caucasian women. Working with data taken from the measurement of hundreds of skulls, scientists argued that Caucasian women and blacks shared a similar small and narrow brain size and low brain weight compared to those of the white male. Moreover, the white woman's facial angle proved to be remarkably close to that of the black. As Nancy Stepan observes: "Once

[128] See Blanchard, et al., *Le Paris noir* for the evolution of the black in images from savage primitive to ethnological and colonial subject and, ultimately, to parody in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I discuss the representation of the black male through an examination of images of the African-Caribbean clown, Chocolat, in the fourth chapter.

[129] Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2:9: "Alors tout son corps s'agite, frissonne de plaisir; chacun de ses muscles participe à la danse; le sentiment de l'amour anime tous ses mouvements; ses gestes deviennent lascifs; ils expriment l'ardeur qui le consume."

[130] Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, 205.

'woman' had been shown to be indeed analogous to lower races by the new science of anthropometry and had become, in essence, a racialized category, the traits and qualities special to woman could in turn be used in an analogical understanding of lower races."[131] The gendering of race – here, the conjoining the black races with the "feminine" – was articulated by Gustave d' Eichthal in 1839: "The black seems to me to be the *female race* within the human family, as the white is the *male race*. Just as for a woman, the black is deprived of the intellectual aptitude for politics and science. … But, on the other hand, he possesses to the highest degree the qualities of the heart, affections, and domestic feelings; he is a man of the *interior*. Like a woman, he also passionately loves his finery, dancing, and singing …"[132]

Later in the nineteenth century, images and texts would emphasize the animality and brutality of the black warrior that mirrored reports of the fierce and barbarous attacks on the French and the British military in Africa. Popular images of the African male, particularly the terrifying and formidable Zulu warrior from South Africa, consigned him to a performative role as an irrational and savage warrior.[133] The crouching, grimacing and writhing figures in a watercolor from 1850 by Adolf von Menzel [Figure 8] and Jules Cheret's tableau of rampaging figures brandishing their spears in an 1878 poster for performances at the *Folies-Bergère* [Figure 9] attested to contemporaries' conceptions of the bestial and primitive nature of the black male.

---

[131] Nancy Leys Stepan, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science," *Isis* 77, no. 2 (June 1986): 267. Also see Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 135-139; and Paul Topinard, "Du Prognathisme alvéolo-sous-nasal," in *Revue d'anthropologie*, ed. Paul Broca (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1872), 628-668.

[132] Gustave d'Eichthal, *Lettres sur la race noire et la race blanche*, 22: "Le noir me paraît être la *race femme* dans la famille humaine, comme le blanc est la *race mâle*. De même que la femme, le noir est privé des facultés politiques et scientifiques. … Mais, par contre, il possède au plus haut degré les qualitiés du cœur, les affections et les sentiments domestiques; il est homme d'*intérieur*. Comme la femme, il aime aussi avec passion la parure, la danse, le chant …" Gobineau, in *The Inequality of Human Races*, 85-88, also articulated the "male" or "female" character inherent in certain races. The gendering of race by Gobineau acceded to the nineteenth-century notion of the active male and passive female. In Gobineau's view, racial mixing with Asians and Africans altered the makeup of the white race by diluting the "materialistic" or "male" predilection of the European.

[133] See Gordon, *Dances with Darwin*, 204-205, on the impact of the Zulu performances in London in 1853 and in Paris in 1879.

Although the African male may have been characterized as a merciless warrior, other images imparted a sense of dignity and ethnographic accuracy. Sculptor Charles Cordier, who revived the materials and techniques of polychromy, established a reputation for himself with the detailed and individualized busts and figures of Africans and Asians that were admired in the Paris Salon.[134] Cordier was committed to depicting the African face and body as part of the "universality of beauty."[135] In the *African of the Sudan,* 1856 [Figure 10], for example, the artist endows the likeness of his model with physiognomic specificity and a regal demeanor. Of special interest to my study are Cordier's torchères, figural candelabra that measured up to six feet in height, most of which Cordier identified generically as Indian, Arab, or Egyptian. The torchères, many of which depicted female figures in body-revealing, flowing drapery, also implicitly reinforced nineteenth-century attitudes towards racial difference and catered to the male fantasy of the exotic and sexualized female body. But the racialized male body was sexualized as well and Cordier most certainly created a male version of the figural torchère [Figure 11].[136] In addition to the ethnological busts for which he was primarily known, Cordier was commissioned to produce ornate architectural figures such as the two atlantes of African males that were created for Baron James de Rothschild's Château de Ferrières, Ferrières en Brie, 1855-1859 [Figure 12]. Virile, muscular, and menacing, these figures – replete with turbans, animal skins, and claws that suggestively displace the lower half of the body – adorned the reception hall of Baron Rothschild's

[134] Cordier exhibited the portrait bust of *Saïd Abdallah, of the Mayac Tribe, Kingdom of Darfur* at his first Salon in 1848.

[135] Quoted in Laure de Margerie, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli, *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, exh. cat., trans. Lenora Ammon, Laurel Hirsch, and Clare Palmieri (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004), 11. Cordier is well-known for his statement: "Le plus beau nègre n'est pas celui qui nous ressemble le plus." ("The most beautiful Negro is not the one that looks the most like us.") See Cordier, "Types ethniques représentés par la sculpture," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 3 (February 6, 1862): 66. For an excellent review of the 2004 Cordier retrospective and an insightful reading of racist ideology in Cordier's work, see Barbara Larson, "Review: The Artist as Ethnographer: Charles Cordier and Race in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (December 2005): 714-722.

[136] I am indebted to Anne Dotter for sharing this undated twentieth-century photograph of a Chanel model standing next to a torchère of a black male attired similarly to the sculpture in Degas's image. Also see Roquebert, *Edgar Degas*, 118, who believes that the sculpture in the Degas image could be attributable to Cordier.

country estate outside of Paris, where they must have elicited a visceral response from the women, and perhaps, men who viewed them.

Like Cordier's sculptures, the black male torchère in the *Portrait of Mme Camus* affirms the Second Empire fashion to decorate interiors with elegantly wrought exotic figures.[137] In addition to the fantasy of the African warrior who existed in an artificial primitive world vis-à-vis decorative objects, popular visual culture, and the spectacle of the theater, Parisians were also fascinated by the arrival and encampment of indigenous Algerian soldiers, known as Turcos, who served in the French army and distinguished themselves in the Battle of Solférino in 1859 and later in the Franco-Prussian War.[138] Forced to camp in the Bois de Vincennes, the Turcos were subjected to the gaze of both men and women as fashionable Parisians traveled to the park in large numbers to watch the mundane diversions with which the soldiers entertained themselves. Elizabeth C. Childs has argued that these exotically-dressed soldiers inspired the fantasy of bourgeois women who associated them with an unrealized "exotic love."[139]

A photograph by Félix Jacques Antoine Moulin from 1852 [Figure 13] and Honoré Daumier's lithograph entitled *Au Camp de St. Maur* [Figure 14], published in *Le Charivari* in 1859, suggest that the possibility of inter-racial encounters in Paris could be more than imagined. In Daumier's print, the *bourgeoise* remarks with delight: "Oh, my dear … what a handsome Turco! What a handsome Turco! Let me look at him a little longer." To which her nonplussed

[137] See Chalaye, *Du noir au nègre*, 249; Roquebert, *Degas*, 118; and Larson, "The Artist as Ethnographer: Charles Cordier and Race in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France," for discussions of the Second Empire taste for these types of decorative objects.

[138] Elizabeth C. Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 82-87.

[139] Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*, 87.

husband replies: "No, let's go … you are forgetting, my dearest, that you are in a delicate condition. … I'm afraid you will catch a glance and give birth to a little Negro!"[140]

The half-clad woman in Moulin's photograph is certainly not a respectable *bourgeoise* and her lowly social status as a model for this image may explain her blatant sexual designs on the soldier. But these images represent, nevertheless, what may have been growing concerns about the vulnerability of white women, particularly the *bourgeoise*, to the attraction and temptation of the sexualized black male body.[141] The Turcos, slim and comfortable in their loose clothing and brightly-colored uniforms, fez, or turbans, certainly provided a striking contrast to the monochromatic sartorial fashion prescribed for bourgeois men, whose bodies were concealed by layers of clothing that offered little display of the form beneath them.[142] The semi-nude sculpture in *The Portrait of Mme Camus* afforded the viewer an opportunity to observe an aestheticized *and* black male body. Although Mme Camus does not direct her gaze towards the sculpture, the figure of the sculpture evinces a palpable presence that cannot be ignored in the intimate setting of Mme Camus's salon. Degas's provocative positioning of Mme Camus and the sculpture may have alluded to the negotiation of inter-racial confrontations in Paris during the Second Empire.

---

[140] Quoted in Kirsten Powell and Elizabeth C. Childs, *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricature* (Middlebury, VT: The Christian A. Johnson Memorial Gallery, Middlebury College, 1990), 41.

[141] See Hollis Clayson, "Henri Regnault's Wartime Orientalism," in *Orientalism's Interlocutors*: *Painting, Architecture, Photography*, ed. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 131-178. Clayson, writes, 153: "[A]lthough Moulin's 1852 photograph may appear at first glance to thematize sexualized inter-racial relations in an imaginary Orient, it is actually embedded in the interest of white Parisian women in sexy Algerian soldiers during the Second Empire."

[142] On standards of male bourgeois fashion during the Third Republic, see Tamar Garb, "Gustave Caillebotte's Male Figures: Masculinity, Muscularity and Modernity," *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 34-38.

Living Appearances

Suspended in torsion, the sculpture of the black male assumes a more animated posture than that of the rigid figure of Mme Camus. And, it is the only object in the painting that projects a shadow. The sculpture, elevated on its pedestal, reflects light on parts of its bronze surface – the flexed biceps and slender waist – highlighting the muscle and exposed flesh of a sleek body. Art historian Susan Sidlauskas has pointed out the existence of a symbiotic relationship between individuals and the myriad of decorative objects that were displayed in the nineteenth-century domestic space. In her analysis of Degas's *Interior*, 1868-1869 [Figure 15], Sidlauskas discusses the concept of animism as it applies to furnishings in the home and how Degas exploited this in this image: "Sexual attraction was believed to heighten the imagined animacy of objects even further. … Degas achieves something very close to this: he fosters the *expectation* of animacy by staging a series of dynamic oppositions between objects and bodily configurations that are gendered as masculine or feminine, rather than by using an accumulation of anecdotal clues."[143] Not only does the sculpture of the black male assume that role within Degas's composition, but the fan also reads as an entity shifting between animacy and inanimacy. However, this enlarged object transgresses the traditional function of the fan as a graceful and feminine fashion ornament.[144]

Degas's decision to depict a rather large palmetto fan is curious. He certainly knew that Dr. and Mme Camus owned a collection of Japanese and eighteenth-century *objets d'art*,[145]

---

[143] Susan Sidlauskas, "Degas and the Sexuality of the *Interior*," *Body, Place and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 44.

[144] On the fan's fashion and cultural significance in nineteenth-century France, see Susan Hiner, "Fan Fetish: Gender, Nostalgia, and Commodification," in *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 145-177. Also see Kessler, *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris*, 79-82, for her discussion of Manet's use of the fan in the portrait *Berthe Morisot with a Fan*, 1872. Valerie Steele, *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 20, briefly examines the inclusion of the fan in Degas's and Morisot's paintings.

[145] Loyrette, *Degas*, 267, describes in detail the collections of Dr. and Mme Camus.

which may have included the type of delicately styled and decorated fans with which most women complemented their evening dress. Degas's familiarity with the art of the European and Japanese fan is confirmed by his studio practice of painting fans as early as 1868.[146] Yet, he chose to place an unusual and unadorned fan conspicuously in the center of the composition. The palmetto palm, from which Mme Camus's fan is constructed, is indigenous to the southeastern United States and parts of the Caribbean. Its association in the nineteenth century with the hot and sultry climates of the American South and Acadian, Créole and Native American folk culture would have endowed the object with an exotic nature.[147]

Degas emphatically articulates the fan's contour so that it stands out against the wall and Mme Camus's dress. The backlighting of the fan exposes its spine and skeletal framework, suggesting an object that is stiff and unyielding. Darkened against the luminous saffron background, the fan can be imagined to metamorphose phantasmally into a face or an enlarged body part. Aside from its directional function – the spine of the fan is placed on an axis that directs the eye from Mme Camus to the sculpture – it formally links the figures of Mme Camus and the sculpture by punctuating the void between the two. Placed in the center of the painting, it draws our attention to the liminal space between the two figures but more importantly, it acts as an impediment for the viewer to move beyond its plane. With her oversized fan, Mme Camus blocks any interchange between herself and the viewer.

---

[146] On Degas's painted fans, see Marc Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," *The Art Bulletin*, 64, no. 1 (March 1982): 105-118.

[147] The palmetto fan is constructed from the leaves of the sabal palm, a tree native to the American southeast and the Caribbean. Growing wild in the wetlands and sandy soil of the Gulf states, the sabal palmetto provided native and European populations with a versatile and pliant material with which to fashion baskets, hats, dolls, and fans. Once the leaves of the palmetto were dried, the color of the fronds changed from green to ivory. Palmetto weaving is associated with native peoples of Louisiana, the Houma Indians, and Choctaws, who, it is believed, introduced a variety of techniques and uses for this plant to Acadian, French, and Spanish settlers as early as the eighteenth century. Today, the art of palmetto weaving is practiced by Native Americans, French Acadians, and Créoles in Louisiana. For more on contemporary palmetto crafts, see Jennifer Fortier Le Blanc, *Acadian Palmetto Braiding: The Folk Art of Elvina Kidder* (Lafayette, LA: Lafayette Natural History Museum, 1982).

Moreover, the way in which Mme Camus holds the fan would have been seen as departing from the codes of etiquette that governed the use of the fan. In his influential text on fashion and the proper manner for women (and men) to adorn themselves, art critic and aesthetician Charles Blanc declared, "[T]he fan is chiefly an accessory of the toilette, affording an excuse for graceful movements under the pretext of agitating the air to refresh it. This flexible curtain, in turn discloses all that is apparently hidden, conceals all that it apparently exposed."[148] The fan that Mme Camus holds is markedly inflexible and it, significantly, fails as well to function as an embellishment of and counterpart to the pale and idealized complexion of its owner. As Susan Hiner points out, the nomenclature of the fan was "anthropomorphized linguistically, possessing … a *tête* (head), and a *gorge* (bosom)." [149] She later goes on to affirm that the fan "was, in short, an object metonymically linked to the woman who carried it."[150] We see this association in Berthe Morisot's *At the Ball*, 1875 [Figure 16], in which the artist establishes a correspondance between the delicate and painted surface of the fan with a woman's face. The pale pink and rose pigment Morisot applied to the ivory-colored leaves of her model's folding fan complements the understated maquillage on the woman's face and neck. The woman in Morisot's image modestly raises the fan to her face in a self-conscious manner, but she does not use the fan to conceal her visage. In another image, Morisot furnished her sister Edma in *The Artist's Sister at a Window*, 1869 [Figure 17], with a Japanese fan on which the artist deftly placed abbreviated strokes of blue, green, and russet to suggest the painted designs that were a standard feature of this fashion adornment. Although partially extended, the fan Edma holds is slender, elegant, and proportioned to be held with ease on her lap or in her hands. Yet, unlike

[148] Charles Blanc, *Art in Ornament and Dress* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 194-195.
[149] Hiner, "Fan Fetish: Gender, Nostalgia, and Commodification," *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France*, 148.
[150] Ibid., 150.

Morisot's images of women holding fans, Mme Camus does not use the fan coquettishly to reveal her face or bodice, and the considerable size of the fan prevents Mme Camus from employing it in a flirtatious way or from placing it comfortably in her lap. Nor does the fan highlight a pearly and luminous complexion. The fan, illuminated from behind, and its reddish-brown coloration act as a visual equivalent to Mme Camus's shadowed visage.

During his stay in New Orleans in the early 1870s, Degas fashioned a gauzy palmetto fan, similar to the one Mme Camus holds, in the pastel portrait of his Créole cousin, Mathilde Musson Bell in *Woman Seated on a Balcony*, 1872-1873 [Figure 18]. The palmetto fan, which was commonplace in Louisiana, is placed decorously on Mathilde's lap. In fact, the thinly drawn outline of the fan, suggesting the characteristic shape of the palmetto, and its light buttery color are almost lost in the folds of Mathilde's voluminous dress.[151] In the *Portrait of Mme Camus*, Degas substituted the natural creamy-white hue of the palmetto leaf [Figure 19] with intense shades of deep brown-red and black-brown pigment calling attention to the fan's anomalous and heightened presence.

Degas also magnifies this unsettling relationship between Mme Camus and the inanimate objects in the room by staging his scene in a shallow space. He constructs a claustrophobic and flattened space in which he gives no hint of an egress. The mirror that traditionally in painting reflects depth and space is so truncated that what can be perceived on its surface is nothing more than the same scumbled orange-red pigment Degas employs for the wall. With the exception of the elaborate Rococo frame of the mirror, the expanse of wall behind Mme Camus is

[151] See Boggs, *Degas and New Orleans*, 206, for her identification of the fan held by Mathilde Musson Bell as a palmetto fan.

uncharacteristically bare.[152] The blank background forces the viewer to concentrate on the forms of Mme Camus, her fan, the sculpture, and its shadow.

In one of his numerous notebooks, compiled at the time in which he painted the *Portrait of Mme Camus,* Degas reminds himself to "[s]tudy nocturnal effects a great deal, lamps, candles, etc. The smartest thing is not always to reveal the source of light, but the effect of light."[153] Candle and lamp work to bathe the entire composition in this eerie red glow, endowing Mme Camus with the lively countenance that Duret perceived in this portrait and that belies the pale, bloodless figure of Mme Camus at her piano described by Edmond de Goncourt. Although soft light falls on and illuminates her upper torso, only limited areas of a pale yellow-orange-red hue are employed on her forehead, lower lip, and throat to interrupt the expanse of mahogany brown pigment from which Degas constructs her hair, head, and neck. Degas's friend and champion, the novelist and art critic Edmond Duranty, teasingly described Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* as more atmosphere than portrait, a representation of a " rose background, against which is silhouetted as in a shadow-theater the *Lady in Social Chiaroscuro*."[154] Duranty faulted Degas for allowing the shadow to overwhelm the figure of Mme Camus, but I would like to propose that Degas's use of the shadow does not eclipse her presence. Rather, it suppresses the superfluous physiognomic details that conventional nineteenth-century portraiture favored. Although the shadow occludes Mme Camus's face, it does not mask it. We can discern a woman preoccupied with her thoughts and engaged with something outside our vision.

---

[152] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1999), 218-227. In his chapter devoted to the nineteenth-century French interior, Benjamin describes the taste for overabundance of interior furnishings and the penchant for elaborate wall coverings. Sidlauskas in "Degas and the Sexuality of the *Interior*," *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting*, 25, discusses the sense of well-being that was fostered by a plenitude of objects, "an obsession with the material sensuality of the surfaces and objects," in the nineteenth-century interior.

[153] Quoted in Reff, *Degas: The Artist's Mind*, 220. Also see Reff, *The Notebooks of Edgar Degas*, vol. 1:117, Notebook 23, p. 45.

[154] Edmond Duranty, "Le Salon de 1870," *Paris-Journal* (May 8, 1870). Quoted in Reff, *The Artist's Mind*, 221. Also see Lemoisne, *Degas et son œuvre*, 62.

Shadows

The emphatic use of shadows in the *Portrait of Mme Camus,* as well as other of his images from the 1860s, suggests Degas's interest in the shadow's multivalent and paradoxical meanings. The shadow has traditionally been associated with the spectral, darkness, and blankness. Although shadow typically darkens and conceals an object, it also may heighten the sense of three-dimensionality and depth of the object on which it is cast. The darkness of shadow denotes impenetrability, yet the shadow is fleeting and insubstantial. The shadow can appear to be an exact *or* a distorted double of the object that projects it. At once, shadow effaces and reveals. Nancy Forgione points out that "[t]he identification of shadow with essence or soul, and the belief in its ability to convey the true nature or deeper reality beyond appearances, had a specific thrust within the discourse of late nineteenth-century aesthetics; however, it was not purely a nineteenth-century invention but had deep roots in a long history, which amplified its power. … Shadows can represent the spirit, soul, psyche, alter ego, or dark side of a person, even after death."[155]

As I have shown, Degas was experimenting with the use of shadow to obscure the likeness (and, in my view, to call into question the gentility) of his bourgeois subjects in the *Portrait of Mme Lisle and Mme Loubens,* 1866-1870. Degas also explored the unsettling nature of the shadow in *Interior,* 1868-1869. Here, the luminous, glaring light emitted from the oil lamp on the pedestal table in the center of the room falls harshly on the back of the crouching woman, revealing her exposed back and shoulder and rendering her vulnerable. The male figure stands rigidly against the door, towering over her. That dominance and menace is amplified by the shadow he casts. Cut off from any exit, the woman turns her back to the threat. The doubling of

[155] Nancy Forgione, "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September 1999): 506.

the male figure in *Interior* through the blackness of the sinister shadow he casts on the door, visually upholds one of the long-held myths about the shadow: the shadow represented a frightening aspect of human nature.[156]

In his exhaustive study of the shadow in eighteenth-century art, Michael Baxandall lists the myriad meanings that the shadow evoked during the Age of Enlightenment, many of which continued to have currency in the nineteenth century. He writes: "The shaped and often grotesquely imitative mobility of a shadow, like some parasitical animal, can also be experienced as uncanny. … [E]stablished extended senses of *Ombre* include[d] ghost, of course, and chimera; unreal appearance, diminished trace; secret, pretext, concealment; the domination of a destructive presence; threat."[157]

Because of its ephemeral nature and the way in which the light source and its placement can magnify, attenuate, or distend its shape, the shadow has the ability to disconcert. In some cases, the shadow seems to assert its independence from the solid body that projects its dark form. We get a sense of this effect in Degas's *Mme Camus at the Piano.* As in the *Portrait of Mme Camus,* Degas included decorative sculptures in this composition. The porcelain figurine of a woman – in all probability a reference to the Meissen figures Dr. and Mme Camus collected – is placed atop the piano and directly behind Mme Camus's right shoulder. Degas imparts to the diminutive Meissen sculpture a large, elongated, and sinuous shadow that appears visually distinct from the figurine, whose form is more ample.

In contrast to the earlier portrait, Degas orchestrates a more complex circuit of spatial, formal, and color relationships in the *Portrait of Mme Camus* among the shadowed figure of Mme Camus, the sculpture, its shadow, and the other objects in the room. The curved form of the

[156] Forgione, "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris," 506.
[157] Michael Baxandall, *Shadows and Enlightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 144.

sculpture and the shadow echo the silhouette of Mme Camus, constituting a visual iteration. As she advances forward in her chair, the sculpture and shadow gravitate towards her. Situated in the darker side of the room, Mme Camus's attention is drawn not towards the sculpture, but in the direction of the lampshade, a triangular passage of light opaque pigment that is abruptly cropped at the right edge of the canvas. Composed mostly of frothy whites and pinks, this form asserts itself as the conspicuous sign of whiteness that is denied to the face of Mme Camus. Indeed its luminosity competes with the less intense cream-colored pigment that Degas employs to render her upper torso. As Mme Camus's form is comprised of light and dark skin tones, so, too, is the sculpture whose left leg intersects with the dazzling white pigment of the lampshade. As we scrutinize the sculpture's coloration more closely, we notice that its blackness is not monochromatic, dulled or muted, but enlivened by the illusion of reflected light. Perceptible streaks of white pigment glisten on its occluded face, upper arms, waist, right leg and foot. A sinuous strip of brick red paint highlights the contour of the sculpture's left leg and tinctures of the same ruddy hue are dispersed throughout the surface of the sculpture's torso and arms. Here, in the rendering of the sculpture's skin color – an effective metonym for the color and texture of black skin – Degas conveys an awareness of the heterogeneity of black skin color.[158]

The sculpture's shadow represents the true hybrid form in the composition. Constituted of an amalgam of tawny yellows, oranges, and pinks – an imagined fusion of light roseate and dark brown skin coloration – the shadow is defined by a white contour on its left and the juxtaposition of the dark outline of the sculpture's form. Traditionally, the shadow's

[158] I explore the issue of chromatic sameness/individuation of black skin color in my third chapter on Bazille's depictions of the black female.

metaphorical power was linked to its ability to obscure light and cast darkness.[159] The doubling of the black male body through the shadow in Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* could have functioned to magnify the irrationality and bestiality that nineteenth-century race theorists, naturalists, and anthropologists asserted was inseparable from the black male. But Degas resists constructing the shadow as an absolute, haunting, or frightening darkness. In this image, the shadow serves as a mediating element between the dichotomy of white and black. The shadow in Degas's composition emerges from the most illuminated part of the room and it is composed of slightly lighter hues than the face and hands of Mme Camus. As a fusion of dark brown and white, it can be read to signify, as much as Mme Camus's shadowed face, interracial mixing or, at the least, the exchange between races.

That Degas concerned himself with the question of racial heterogeneity is convincingly argued by Marilyn R. Brown in her examination of Degas's *Miss La La at the Cirque Fernando*, 1879. Brown sets forth in her article that Degas sought to "exorcize" doubts about his maternal family's racial makeup by eliding Miss La La's hybrid racial identity.[160] Yet, as Brown points out, Degas was drawn to this performer because of her racial hybridity, and through her "revealed his own precarious social and personal position."[161] Degas's possible conflicted notion of his own racial identity, particularly as it related to his mother's lineage, is circumscribed by nineteenth-century colonial domination (and fear) of black and non-white races and the recognition that these races, particularly the black, had breached and altered the white person's once secure sense of racial identity. Homi Bhabha characterizes this paradox as "colonial desire," the unexpected outcome of the asymmetrical relationship between Self and Other in which the colonizer identifies with the

[159] Victor I. Stoichita, in *A Short History of the Shadow* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 132-133, discusses the "demonization of the shadow" and employs Freud's notion of the "uncanny" as a context for the shadow's "expression of autonomous power."
[160] Brown, "'Miss La La's Teeth: Reflections on Degas and 'Race,'"742.
[161] Ibid., 759.

colonized and the Manichean dualism between the two breaks down. Using the metaphor of the shadow, Bhabha eloquently describes a union "where the shadow of the other falls upon the self."[162]

In altering Mme Camus's noted pale complexion, Degas confronts race and sexuality vis-à-vis the darkened skin color of an *haute bourgeoise*. The mostly ebony color of the sculpture and the ivory hue of Mme Camus's breast are not placed in dialectical opposition to one another, rather they converge in the hybrid color from which Degas constructs the sculpture's shadow and Mme Camus's face and hands. Nineteenth-century fears about the contamination of blood and subversion of white superiority, while not dispelled, are mitigated by what I see in Degas's composition as an affirmation of a fantasy of desire and sexuality that he projects onto the bodies of the white female and the black male. The interplay between shadowed and darkened forms, creating a sense of sexual frisson, is suggested in Degas's *mise-en-scène*, but never resolved. In this intermediate space, the shadowland, the boundary between white and black, while not elided, is mediated. It is Mme Camus's occluded and darkened face that serves as the primary site where Degas shifts and destabilizes power. Whiteness, once unequivocally situated on the body of the respectable *femme d'intérieur*, is denied a claim as an absolute. Whiteness is not effaced but it is fractured in Degas's image in which Degas transgresses the obligatory practice of legibility in academic portraiture and conventional notions of idealized beauty. As Elisabeth Bronfen astutely observes of Degas's strategy in representing women in portraiture, "he explicitly chose to disturb any easy correspondence between physiognomy and essential being by using imprecise lines as well as a mixture of clarity and obscurity to signify his subjective vision imposed on those portrayed."[163]

---

[162] Bhabha, "Interrogating Identity: Frantz Fanon and the Postcolonial Prerogative," in *The Location of Culture*, 85, employs the metaphor of the shadow for the colonized and its spatial relationship with the colonizer.

[163] Bronfen, "Facing Defacement: Degas's Portraits of Women," 234.

Mme Camus's darkened form suggests a warmth and beguiling sensuality that belie the ascribed traits of modesty and passivity for a *bourgeoise*. But her sexuality is not presented as a spectacle of feminine display. Mme Camus's body may be eroticized by her darkened skin tone and the sultry color and cut of her dress, and she may be the object of the male viewer's gaze, but she directs her attention towards someone or something outside of the composition, neither inviting nor deferentially acknowledging the gaze. Moreover, the shadows cast on Mme Camus's face and hands limit visual access to her form, denying the spectator a visual command of her presence. These are disconcerting signs and perhaps they speak more about Degas's ambivalence vis-à-vis racial difference and a woman's sexuality than they do about Degas's effacement of a woman's identity or an implicit nod to racialist ideology.

Certainly, racialist science and the artifice of modern life could not assuage uncertainties about who was white and who was black, who was respectable and who was immoderate. Through the darkened face of Mme Camus, whose race was decidedly not in question, Degas may have been acknowledging anxieties about the contiguous existence of blacks and whites in nineteenth-century France, as well as his own racial identity. In this chapter, I have tried to demonstrate that the elusive nature of the shadow that is registered on Mme Camus's face is where Degas evoked, at once, a consciousness and "disavowal"[164] of racial difference.

[164] This is a central term for Bhabha. He writes: "It is crucial to understand – and not often noted – that the process of disavowal, even as it negates the visibility of difference, produces a strategy for the negotiation of the knowledges of differentiation." See "Articulating the Archaic: Cultural Difference and Colonial Nonsense," *The Location of Culture*, 189. I examine Bhabha's notion of the disavowal of difference in greater depth in my second and fourth chapters.

Chapter Two
Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette*: Unfixing the Racial Stereotype

Édouard Manet's canvas of a woman dressed in generic folk costume smoking a cigarette was kept closeted in his studio, bereft of a title, during his life. Neither Théodore Duret nor Antonin Proust, Manet's close friends and early biographers, recorded any anecdotes about the image, and the painting was not exhibited until 1937. Despite the lack of any critical response to the work for more than a generation after Manet's death, catalogues prepared for the sale of the painting between Manet's death in 1883 and the first decades of the twentieth century provide some idea about its reception or, more specifically, about the interpretation of the painting's subject. The painting was sold three times between 1884 and 1918, and the succession of titles given to the image by, among others, Théodore Duret, who compiled an inventory of works in the artist's studio at the time of his death, and by dealers such as Paul Durand-Ruel, indicate some confusion about the figure's identity and ethnicity. After Manet's death in 1883, the painting was catalogued in the sale of artist's work as *Femme Mexicaine*, sold to artist Marie Baskirsteff in 1884 as *Bohémienne*, and listed in the sale of Edgar Degas's collection in 1918 as *Indienne fumant une cigarette.*[165] Anne Coffin Hanson states that the title by which the painting is now known, *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, can be attributed to Manet's biographer, Adolphe Tabarant.[166] There is little doubt today among scholars that Manet painted the image in 1862 when he devoted a substantial part of his work to Spanish subject matter or that the work is

[165] Françoise Cachin, in *Manet: 1832-1883*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), 93-94, traces the history of the painting's title. Also see Denis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, *Édouard Manet: catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1, *Les Peintures* (Lausanne: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1975), 58; and Théodore Duret, *Histoire de Édouard Manet et de son œuvre: avec un catalogue des peintures et des pastels*, 4th ed. (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 1926), 300, who identify the figure as an *Indienne*.

[166] For the provenance of the painting, see Anne Coffin Hanson, "Édouard Manet, 'Les Gitanos', and the Cut Canvas," *The Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 804 (March 1970): 158-167. Also see Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet et ses œuvres* (Paris: Gallimard, 1947), 51.

related to a larger painting entitled *Les Gitanos* (*The Gypsies*).[167] Yet, the indecisiveness in identifying the ethnicity of the woman in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* [Figure 20] illustrates the degree to which Manet's subject failed to register as a representation of one of the nineteenth-century's most recognizable stereotypes, the female Spanish Gypsy. My argument is not that Manet rejected depicting cultural and racial stereotypes in his Spanish-themed images, including the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, but that he found ways to deflect the representation of "Gypsiness" as a fixed stereotype. I will explore how the construction of the female Spanish Gypsy, a figure whose enigmatic non-European origins and abject position within Spain – a country with its own complex and heterogeneous ethnic composition – necessitated the careful and circumspect overlapping of multiple sets of cultural traits. My contention is that Manet, unlike his contemporaries, disclosed and underscored the artifice of that fabrication.

In this chapter, I explore the racial stereotyping of the Spanish Gypsy as a construct that embodied ethnic and racial interchangeability, a mixing that barely allowed for differentiation among constituent ethnic groups. Indeed, the Spanish Gypsy could be fabricated seamlessly from a mélange of cultures: Roma (the ethnic designation for nomadic populations speaking the Romany language), Andalusian (the culture of Spain's southern province in which most Spanish Gypsies resided), Indian, and African. While Gypsy populations resided throughout Europe – I will return later to the narratives that traced their origin and migration to Eastern and Western Europe from India – their presence in and association with Spain was marked throughout the nineteenth century.

---

[167] For example, see Tabarant, *Manet et ses œuvres*, 50-52; Cachin, *Manet: 1832-1883*, 94; Hanson, "Édouard Manet, 'Les Gitanos;' Marilyn R. Brown, *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985), 75-76; Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 17; and Gary Tinterow, Geneviève Lacambre, Deborah L Roldán, et al., *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 214-226.

For Manet's generation, the concept of race encompassed nationality (and class) as well physiognomy and skin color.[168] In the French imaginary, the Spanish Gypsy embodied a union between two racial categories: Spaniard and Roma Gypsy.[169] The richly-colored mosaic that constituted Spain's ethnic and cultural history provided a delectable menu of ethnicities and attributes that could be selected and paired to construct variations of the "desired" Gypsy. The Spanish Gypsy could be inscribed as Romany, Egyptian, African, Asian, Moor, Jew, black, and/or white. Victor Hugo's frequently-cited passage in the preface to *Les Orientales*, 1829, in which he summons the image of a hybrid Spain is worth restating here: "Spain is still the Orient, Spain is half-African …"[170] One has only to read the first pages of the most popular fictional representation of the Spanish Gypsy during the nineteenth century, Prosper Mérimée's novella, *Carmen*, 1845, to grasp the sense of mastery in collapsing separate ethnicities into one. At the

[168] Spain's relationship with France as a conquered and "internal other to European modernity" is discussed by José F. Colmeiro in "Exorcising Exoticism: 'Carmen' and the Construction of Oriental Spain," *Comparative Literature* 54, no. 2 (Spring 2002):127-144. Also see María DeGuzmán, *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). My understanding of Spain's image in the nineteenth century as disadvantageously hybrid has been informed by DeGuzmán's book. She writes: "New World Spain, the Spanish Americas, was, in Anglo-American imperial discourse, equally a site and sign of miscegenation and contamination rather than regenerative hybridity. The figures of the Moor and the Gypsy, already signs of Old World hybridity, came to stand for what was represented as the further degeneration of the Spaniard in the New World through contact and intercourse with African peoples brought over as slaves and with Native Americans" (73). Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 94, quotes art historian and critic Charles Blanc in his *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles: École Espagnole*, 1869. Blanc repeatedly cast Spain as a mixture of Arab and European, and ultimately pronounced that the Spanish adhered to "a path completely contrary to the tendencies of the other peoples of Europe."

[169] I use the terms Spanish Gypsy and *Gitano/Gitana* (Spanish for male/female Gypsy) interchangeably as designations for Roma Gypsies (whose origin was believed to have been India) living in Spain and Spanish-born Gypsies living temporarily in or immigrating to France during the nineteenth century. I employ the upper-case "G" to underscore the difference between a racially-defined group and the broader meaning of "gypsy" as it is commonly applied to mean "free-spirit" or "wanderer." On the application of the term "Gypsy" and the methodologies employed in Gypsy studies, see Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar, *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); and David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities, 1550-2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[170] Victor Hugo, *Les Orientales*, ed. Élisabeth Barineau (Paris: M. Didier, 1968), 11: "[L]'Espagne c'est encore l'Orient; l'Espagne est à demi africaine …" Anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages in "Du Croisement des races humanes," *Revue des deux mondes* 8 (March 1, 1857): 185, stated that Joseph Arthur de Gobineau held the Spanish in disdain because they are "already [a race] a hundred times mixed, [and] have still abased their blood and their race by new [racial] crossings with Negroes or Americans." ("déjà cent fois métis, qui ont encore abaissé leur sang et leur race par de nouveaux croisemens avec les nègres ou les Américains.")

outset of the novella, Mérimée's narrator, a French archeologist, upon meeting the *Gitana*, Carmen, and taken with the color of her skin, asks her if she is a Moor but stops short of addressing her as a Jew.[171] Mérimée's description of Carmen's complexion bears a resemblance to the appearance of the female Spanish Gypsy in *The Zincali, An Account of the Gypsies of Spain*, 1841, written by George Borrow, a British philologist who traveled among *Gitanos*, studied their language, and wrote extensively about the physical traits of the *Gitana.* In *The Zincali*, Borrow conjures a dual racial identity for the *Gitana*: "Her complexion is more than dark, for it is almost that of a Mulatto …"[172]

The term I most frequently use in this chapter, Spanish Gypsy, implies the intermixture and convergence of distinct ethnicities and cultures that formed the Gypsy's hybrid identity in the nineteenth-century French imaginary. As literary historian Léon-François Hoffmann observed: "[I]n the collective imagination of the French, little difference was made between the Spanish and *Gitanos*. Little by little, the latter became the incarnation of what one believed to be essentially Spanish."[173] French notions of race for the Spanish Gypsy, therefore, transcended skin color and physiognomy and became linked with a sense of Spanish character, spirit, psyche, customs, and dress. The union and sense of sameness between the two succeeded because in reality the physiognomic distinctions between Gypsy populations and the Spanish (and the European for that

[171] Prosper Mérimée, *Carmen and Other Stories*, trans. Nicholas Jotcham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 13: "Then you must be Moorish, or … I stopped, hardly daring to say 'Jewish.'" Also see Sander Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 30. In the introduction to his book, Gilman singles out Mérimée's novella, *Carmen*, for its overt stereotyping of the French narrator as intellectually and morally superior to the "proletarian and black" Carmen. She represents the "overlapping of Otherness, the Moor, the Jew, the Gypsy."

[172] George Borrow, *The Zincali, An Account of the Gypsies of Spain* (1841; repr; London: John Murray, 1893), 75.

[173] Léon-François Hoffmann, *Romantique Espagne; l'image de l'Espagne en France entre 1800 et 1850* (Princeton NJ: Université de Princeton, Départment de langues romanes, 1961), 125: "Mais l'imigination collective française ne faisait pas une grande différence entre les Espagnols et les Gitans. Peu à peu, ces derniers deviennent même des incarnations de ce qu'on croyait être essentiellement espagnol."

matter) were marginal.[174] The alliance of Gypsiness and Spanishness was, in some ways, less ideological than aesthetic. In the eyes of nineteenth-century French travelers, writers, and artists, Gypsy and Spaniard wore the same colorful clothing, resembled each other in terms of skin tone, and exhibited a passionate disposition.[175] Historically, Gypsies were inextricably linked to certain patterns of behavior – including chicanery and thieving – and among the female Gypsy's arts were witchcraft and fortune-telling, and she was gifted as a seductive dancer.[176] The collapse of Spanish and Gypsy identities into one served as a means by which the female *Gitana*, clearly recognizable as Spanish to the French public, could be made more palatable and fashioned into an array of beguiling types, most often the alluring temptress.[177]

The primary physical characteristics ascribed to the female Spanish Gypsy were, as in the case of the mulatta, a heightened sexual nature and sensuality. Writers frequently marveled at the *Gitana's* dusky complexion – a sign of her immoderate sexuality – which was accentuated by the intensity of her dark eyes and penetrating gaze.[178] Despite being described as dark-skinned by

---

[174] David Mayall, in *Gypsy Identities, 1550-2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*, 10-32, discusses the attempts by physical anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to ascertain a physiognomic difference between Roma and European populations through "comparative anthropometric" measurements. He states that the results were inconclusive.

[175] Hispanist Baron Jean-Charles Davillier (1823-1883), whose experiences in Spain were published by the travel journal *Le Tour du monde* between 1862 and 1873, described Gitanos as "resembling in general those [populations] of other parts of Spain, particularly those of Granada, Malaga and the major cities of Andalusia." ("Les Gitanos … ressemblent en général à ceux des autres parties de l'Espagne, surtout à ceux de Grenade, de Malaga et des principales villes de l'Andalousie.") See Davillier and Gustave Doré, "Séville," *Le Tour du monde* 14, 2nd sem. (1866): 370, in *Voyage en Espagne: le tour du monde, 1862-1873*, facsimile (Valencia: Albatros Editores, 1974). Davillier's texts were accompanied in *Le Tour du monde* by Doré's images.

[176] For more on the female Spanish Gypsy's putative natural abilities as dancer and the types of dance performed by *Gitanas*, see Davillier, *Le Tour du monde* 14, 2nd sem. (1866): 410-416, in *Voyage en Espagne: le tour du monde, 1862-1873*. Mayall, *Gypsy Identities, 1550-2000*, 125-128, discusses the typing of the Gypsy's physical characteristics, customs, and the emphasis on the Gypsy's affinity for music and dance.

[177] One of the central issues examined by Lou Charnon-Deutsch, in *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 11, is the contraction of Gypsy and Andalusian identities in representations of the Spanish Gypsy. Also see pages 17-86, for an account of the stereotyping of the *Gitana* that was sustained in Spanish and French literature and visual culture from Cervantes through the Romantic Movement.

[178] Gilman, "The Hottentot and the Prostitute: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality," in *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*, 79, argues that historically Europeans equated dark skin with sexual promiscuity: "The association of the black with concupiscence reaches into the Middle Ages."

those who spent time with Gypsy populations, many visual images represented the *Gitana* as lighter skinned. Regardless of the degree to which a writer or artist chose to render the darkness (or lightness) of the Gypsy's skin color, the prescribed behavioral attributes of the Gypsy were expected to be upheld. Female Spanish Gypsies were packaged to delight and titillate readers and the art-viewing public. Thus, the hybrid Spanish Gypsy, compliant and fulfilling the expectations of the stereotype, would not generate the type of anxiety associated with the mulatta or *sang-mêle* whose presence implied miscegenation and racial pollution that could not be circumscribed by national boundaries. The *Gitana* was bound to Spain and part of Spain's racial complexity.

Spanish as well as Eastern European Gypsies endured repressive measures in nineteenth-century France to limit their visibility and mobility, yet the more they could be distinguished from the general population through physiognomy, costume, occupation, and behavior, the more they could be securely confined to imagined, remote spaces rather than acknowledged as an unwelcome presence at a time when racial distinctions were under assault. The ways in which artists and writers engaged in racial stereotyping had to mediate between the public's growing fascination with Gypsies, particularly the appeal of the female Spanish Gypsy stereotype, and the racist histories that were constructed to define this group.

Manet's Spanish-themed Work and the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*

Gypsy with a Cigarette is one of several images Manet produced during a five-year period, between 1860 and 1865, in which his choice of Spanish subject matter contributed to and sustained the French vogue for Spanish culture and themes. Adolphe Tabarant, Anne Hanson, and Carol Armstrong have linked the formal qualities and iconography of the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* with Manet's better-known work, *The Gypsies*, 1862, of which only an etching remains extant [Figure

21].[179] Three other paintings from 1862 – *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* [Fig. 22], *Mlle V… in the Costume of an Espada* [Figure 23], and *Lola de Valence* [Figure 24] – recapitulate Manet's ongoing investment in Spanish "types" and performers that began with one of his first Salon successes, *The Spanish Singer* [Figure 25], 1860. It was in response to this image that Théophile Gautier, perhaps the most influential proselytizer of Spanish culture in nineteenth-century France, validated Manet's interpretation of Spanish subject matter with this *guitarero*, pronouncing it faithful and lifelike. Gautier in particular enthused over the authenticity of the guitar player's costume:

> *Caramba*! Here is a *Guitarero* who hasn't stepped out of a comic opera, and would cut a poor figure in a romantic lithograph. But Velazquez would have given him a friendly wink, and Goya would have asked him for a light for his *papelito*. How heartily he sings as he plucks away at his guitar! We can almost hear him. This bold Spaniard in his *sombrero calanes* and short southern jacket wears pants. Alas! Figaro's knee breeches are now worn only by the *espadas* and *bandilleros*, but the *alpargates* atone for this concession to civilized fashions. There is a great deal of talent in this life-sized figure, broadly painted in true color and with a bold brush.[180]

Gautier's insistence on the correctness of the costume proved to be wrong; for the most part, the costume was pieced together out of props that Manet kept in his studio.[181] But Gautier's affirmation of costume as a signifier of national character, to which his writings on Spain and the

---

[179] Manet exhibited the canvas of *Les Gitanos* at Martinet's Gallery in 1863 and in the retrospective of his work that he organized in 1867. He later cut the canvas into three sections. Until recently, it was thought only one fragment, known as *Le buveur d'eau*, existed. The Musée du Louvre has now displayed two other canvases, the two missing fragments, titled *The Bohemian* and *Still Life with Bag and Garlic*. See Anne Coffin Hanson, "Édouard Manet, 'Les Gitanos', and the Cut Canvas," 158-167; and Carol Vogel, "Abu Dhabi Gets a Sampler of World Art," *New York Times*, May 29, 2009.

[180] Quoted in George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New York: Norton, 1969), 25. Gautier's review was printed in *Le Moniteur universel* (July 3, 1861).

[181] Cachin, in *Manet, 1832-1883*, 63-64, notes Gautier's subsequent realization that the jacket and pants could be purchased in Montmartre. Manet also dressed Victorine Meurent in some of the guitar player's costume for *Mlle V … in the Costume of an Espada.* For more on Gautier's notions of authenticity in *The Spanish Singer*, see Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 83-84. Kathleen Adler has, among others, pointed out the "parodic" aspects of *The Spanish Singer*: "Once the incongruity is observed the figure ceases to be convincing and becomes instead an image of a man pretending to be a guitarist. Similar occurrences in other of Manet's works preclude this effect being accidental." See Adler, *Manet* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 33.

Spanish Gypsy attest, speaks to the broader issues related to stereotyping as they were addressed in the nineteenth century. In choosing to begin his review of Manet's *The Spanish Singer* with the familiar and trite colloquial expression, "*Caramba*!", Gautier draws our attention to the facile strategies that were employed to fix cultural stereotypes. Indexing the costume and accoutrements in the image – sombrero, hemp espadrilles, guitar, and cigarette – Gautier, and Manet for that matter, invoked all that was needed to identify the figure as Spanish. The figure's Spanishness *is* the sum of these parts. Even without the title's identification of the figure as a *guitarero*, Manet's image left little doubt concerning the nationality of the performer. Here, Manet followed a pattern that is common in perpetuating a stereotype. The Spanish guitar player, *or* dancer, bullfighter, bandit, and Gypsy functioned as staple commodities in nineteenth-century French visual and literary culture and the pleasure derived from them was due to their familiarity and predictability.

But Manet's other Spanish-themed work, in which some cultural constructs are clearly deployed, repeatedly challenged the authenticity of setting, clothing, comportment, and, indeed, skin color to signify a culture or race or gender. Is the woman depicted in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* Mexican, Spanish, or Indian? What did the viewer make of Manet's decision to dress Victorine Meurent in *Mlle V… in the Costume of an Espada* and the model in *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* in male clothing? Why did the critical response to *Lola de Valence* emphasize the famed dancer's dark, "mannish" beauty?[182] Contemporary representations of Spanish women, particularly the dancer and the Gypsy, rarely deviated from imparting the model's sensuality and unambiguous sexuality. If repetition profoundly inscribes and validates the stereotype, Manet departed from that strategy in these images. As Homi K. Bhabha incisively

[182] See Tabarant, *Manet et ses œuvres*, 53: "*Lola de Valence*, à vrai dire, était une beauté plutôt hommasse." (*Lola de Valence*, actually, was a rather mannish beauty.")

points out in his essay on the stereotype in colonial discourse, "the stereotype … is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated."[183] But, as Bhabha explains, the irony of the stereotype is that regardless of how often it is reiterated, it cannot guarantee the absolute fixity of the characterizations imposed on the stereotyped subject nor can it assuage an anxiety about the certainty of the representation. Bhabha further argues that stereotyping confers "that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed."[184] My argument is that in his portrayal of the female Spanish Gypsy, Manet avoids the "excess" that Bhabha astutely characterizes as one of the postulates of stereotyping.

Leaning against a black horse with a cigarette firmly held between her lips, Manet's dark-skinned model in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* averts her gaze from the viewer precluding any seductive glance. The saturated palette of russet, gold, and orange in her costume complements the bronze and terra cotta pigments used to render her skin. Although composed of warm colors, Manet's passive and introspective figure does not suggest the fiery, passionate nature traditionally associated with the Spanish Gypsy. Manet's *Gypsy* did not conform to the prevalent stereotypes of *femme fatale*, fortune teller, or dancer but rather suggested an ambiguous figure whose nature cannot be fixed by the color of her skin or costume.

Among the myriad representations of the female Spanish Gypsy that satisfied the popular taste for all things Spanish before and after mid-century, Manet's image seems to me most

---

[183] Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," *The Location of Culture* (1994; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 94-95. Bhabha further argues that the construction of the stereotype is a futile attempt to annul the negotiation between the colonizer subject and stereotyped Other: "[T]he stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference (which the negation through the Other permits), constitutes a problem for the *representation* of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations" (107).

[184] Ibid., 95.

truthful. I am not arguing that in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* Manet offers an ethnologically accurate depiction of a nineteenth-century Spanish Gypsy. The generic "Gypsified-Spanish" costume that his model wears, as well as the inclusion of horses associated with nomadic life, provides evidence enough of Manet's appropriation of elements of a well-known and constructed Gypsy type. But Manet's image is more truthful in its ambiguity and ambivalence in racial stereotyping. Manet's pictorial strategy to accentuate the Gypsy's dark skin color racializes the figure[185] and invites a reading of the composition that must consider the encumbrances that racism entails: imposing a univocal identity onto a racialized culture's population and securing essentialist traits for that population.

Late eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century anthropological and philological studies classified the Roma Gypsy as a distinct racial category.[186] While much of this discourse drew attention to the Gypsy's skin color and certain physiognomic features (the perceived difference was in reality about skin color because, in fact, little somatic difference could be established between Gypsies and Europeans), as well as an Indian origin, a parallel track crafted a set of attributes that marked the Gypsy as passionate, savage, and violent. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century representations – scientific, literary, and visual – also inscribed the Gypsy as an impulsive dancer, singer, and musician who would readily perform for his and/or her pleasure, as well as for the pleasure of the non-Gypsy viewer. Although Manet draws on the racialist descriptions emphasizing the Gypsy's skin color – indeed, he accentuates the darkness of the model's skin tone

[185] Manet's point is reinforced by the decision to juxtapose the Gypsy against a black and a white horse.

[186] Two of the most influential early histories published on Gypsy origins, language, and traits were *Die Zigeuner: Ein historischer Versuch uber die Lebensart und Verfassung Sitten und Schicksahle dieses Volks in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprunge*, [*The Gypsies. Being an Historical Enquiry Concerning the Manner of Life, Family, Economy, Customs and Conditions of These People in Europe and Their Origin*], 1783, by Heinrich Grellmann (hereafter referred to as *Die Zigeuner*) and *The Zincali, An Account of the Gypsies of Spain,* 1841, by George Borrow.

by employing a palette of tawny browns – he creates a divide between skin color and essentialist patterns of behavior attributed to the Spanish Gypsy.

Manet's decision to heighten the Gypsy's skin color, while understating her sensual qualities, not only disrupted the sexual fantasy of the female Gypsy, but also pointed to the unreliability of the stereotype to function as a stable signifier of racial difference and the equivocation of Gypsiness as an aggregate of specific and static physical and behavioral traits. When the perception of the stereotype breaks down, it threatens the dominant culture's hegemonic position in its relationship with the racialized Other and renders the stereotyped subject unknowable and uncontrollable, the very conditions stereotyping is meant to master.[187] Yet, to assuage this dilemma, the dominant culture seeks ways to endow the stereotyped subject with qualities that are desirable, and thus knowable, as well as those of alterity.[188]

Inventing the *Gitana*

The written and pictorial image of the Spanish Gypsy was ubiquitous in French nineteenth-century culture. Numerous anthropological studies, travel journals, works of fiction, and poetry by French writers, many of whom had visited Spain, were published in the first half of the century.[189] Inspired by these accounts, as well as their own travels, academic and avant-

[187] Bhabha, in "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture*, 96, extends the fiction of origin and identity to the colonial subject whose sense of a "pure origin" and wholeness is strained by the acknowledgement (and disavowal) of the Other's difference.

[188] Ibid., 118. Bhabha articulates this paradox: "The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child …"

[189] On French writers and artists traveling to Spain in the nineteenth century, see Hoffmann, *Romantique Espagne* and Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy.* A brief list of French writers and artists who visited Spain includes Prosper Mérimée (several trips between 1830 and 1864), George Sand (1838), Théophile Gautier (1840), Victor Hugo (1843), Alexandre Dumas *père* (1846), Alfred Dehodencq (1850-1863), Charles Blanc (1862), Gustave Doré (1862), and Gustave Courbet (1868). Manet did not visit Spain until 1865 and his trip lasted only two weeks.

garde artists depicted the Gypsy as nomadic, colorful, tempestuous, and exotic, and part of an ancient culture remaining in the margins of the modern world.[190]

As early as the eighteenth century, ethnologists and linguists began to cast doubt on the veracity of the oft-repeated narrative of an Egyptian origin for Gypsies. Indeed, Gypsies had been the source of that fiction. Upon their arrival in Eastern Europe, probably in the fifteenth century, they identified themselves as wanderers from "Little Egypt," forced to perform penance for transgressions against the Christian faith. It made little difference that the purported "Little Egypt" was actually a territory in the Peloponnese. Although an Egyptian lineage was ultimately refuted, philologists traced the Gypsy homeland to the Indian subcontinent. This Asian genealogy provided the link to another enigmatic culture, that of the Hindus. Compelled to leave India because of their pariah caste sometime between 500 and 1000 CE, Gypsies traveled westward to Europe by way of Persia, the Byzantine Empire, the Mediterranean, North Africa, and Gibraltar. Arriving in France in the early fifteenth century, they soon after crossed the Pyrenees into Spain.[191] I include this synopsis of a complex and admittedly debatable history to support further my claims that the perception of Gypsies was, at once, informed by a sense of their racial purity and their interchangeability with the cultures among which they had lived – Arab, Persian, Greek, Turk, possibly Egyptian, and African. The name by which they were called

---

[190] Grellmann, in *Die Zigeuner*, published in English translation as *The Gypsies* (London: G. Bigg, P. Elmsley, and T. Cadell, in the Strand, and J. Sewell, in Cornhill, 1787), x, established a constitutive in Gypsy history that precluded any differences among Roma populations: "How comes it then, that the G[y]psies … remained unchanged and resemble each other exactly, in every place?" Grellmann racialized Gypsy populations and described them as "different … from Europeans; the one is white, the other black" (xv). Grellmann, 64-65, also asserted that Gypsies possess no literature of their own and that they live by instinct rather by reason.

[191] Wim Wellems and Leo Lucassen in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, 39, outline the constructed history of migration and notes that it remained firmly part of the official history of the Gypsies until recently: "This analogy between the national character of the Gypsies and that of the Indian Pariahs dominated Gypsy studies until the twentieth century." On other myths of origin and the documented history of Gypsies, see Fraser, *The Gypsies*; Mayall, *Gypsy Identities, 1550-2000*; Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, trans. Don Bloch (London: Frank Cass, 1997); Bertha B. Quintana and Lois Gray Floyd, *!Qué Gitano! Gypsies of Southern Spain* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972); and Marilyn R. Brown, "The Image of the Bohémien from Diaz to Manet and Van Gogh" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1978).

permanently cast their origin in Egypt – the etymological source of *Gitano* in Spanish and French, and *Gypsy* in English is "Egyptian"[192] – and Egypt implied the confluence of Muslim and Jewish cultures that had for centuries been understood as the "Orient." The Spanish Gypsy shared that presumed cultural lineage and mixing with the Spanish.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the as yet well-defined image of the female Spanish Gypsy required an archetype and two authoritative studies of Gypsy populations provided the constitutive attributes. The first of these, *Die Zigeuner* (*The Gypsies*), written in the late eighteenth century by German philologist Heinrich Grellmann, asserted that the linguistic origin of the Romany language was India.[193] Despite his scholarly enterprise in comparative philology, Grellmann, relying on secondary sources, compiled an exhaustive and universal account of Gypsy appearance and behavioral traits that functioned, in the words of Wim Willems, as "an ethnological blueprint" for future portrayals of Gypsies.[194] And Grellmann's characterizations were applied indiscriminately. With decidedly broad strokes, Grellmann defined female Gypsies, particularly those in Spain, as earthy and promiscuous. They favor dancing, singing, fortunetelling, smuggling, begging, and prostitution to any other type of livelihood and, through these arts, overturn patriarchal norms in which "the man does not maintain the wife, but the wife the husband."[195]

---

[192] Marilyn R. Brown, in "The Image of the Bohémien from Diaz to Manet and Van Gogh," 20, provides an excellent summary of the etymology of the word "Gypsy," as do Fraser, *The Gypsies*, 36; and François de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Bohémiens en France au 19e siècle* (Paris: Lattès, 1981), 19-20. Also see Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 9, for reasons why "it became important to establish that the Gypsies … originated in Egypt, not India, which further exoticized them and thus distinguished them from non-Spanish Gypsies."

[193] Heinrich Grellmann (1756-1804), who taught philosophy at Göttingen University, contested the commonly held belief that Gypsies originated in Egypt by establishing a correspondence between Romany and Indian (Hindi) vocabulary. His conclusion that Gypsies began their migration to the West from India has remained an integral part of the Gypsy narrative. Fraser, in *The Gypsies*, 195, states that Grellman's *Die Zigeuner*, 1783, was well-known through translations in English (1787), Dutch (1791) and French (1810).

[194] Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, 61. Willems also notes that Grellmann acknowledged secondary sources for his descriptions of the Gypsy's appearance, manner, and occupations.

[195] Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner*, 33.

Grellmann set forth a list of physical "properties" which begins with skin color – he frequently shifts from the use of "black" to "dark brown" and "olive" to characterize female Gypsies' complexions – and then proceeds to note the white teeth and red lips dramatically offset by the dark value of their skin. Grellmann repeatedly emphasized his disgust for what he considered to be the odious physical state of Gypsy women. Yet, despite their filth, Grellmann admitted an attraction for these women: "Their white teeth, their long black hair, on which they pride themselves very highly … [and] their lively black rolling eyes, are, without dispute, properties which must be ranked among the list of beauties, even by the modern civilized European world."[196] Grellman's fascination with Gypsy women confirms one of Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's tenets in the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, 1853: "white" cultures were moved by two paradoxical reactions to dark-skinned races: "repulsion" and "attraction."[197]

It was, of course, the Gypsy's dark skin which functioned as the outward sign of her unrestrained sexuality. As the mulatta emblematized the pre-eminent sexual being in nineteenth-century racial discourse, the female Gypsy, whose active libido was also understood to govern her actions, assumed an equivalent ranking. Grellmann made this clear in his treatise. He concluded that Gypsy women possessed a natural predilection for the physical display of their bodies and sexual license. Adorning themselves with all kinds of "trumpery" and "baubles,"[198] Grellman noted that "[n]othing can exceed the unrestrained depravity of manners. … Unchecked by any idea of shame, they give way to every desire."[199] Prosper Mérimée may have read the 1810 French translation of

[196] Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner*, 8.
[197] Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, trans. Adrian Collins (New York: Howard Fertig, 1967), 30.
[198] Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner*, 21.
[199] Ibid., 67.

Grellmann's history of the Gypsies.[200] His eponymous character, Carmen, certainly bears affinities with Grellmann's dangerous and lascivious female Spanish Gypsy.

Another linguist, George Borrow, writing in 1841 about his experiences living among *Gitanos*, did not feign scientific objectivity in his memoir-cum-historical/anthropological text, *The Zincali, An Account of the Gypsies of Spain*.[201] His book made an immediate impression in French literary culture through the review by Philarète Chasles in the *Revue des deux mondes* in 1841.[202] In his characterization of Spanish Gypsy women, Borrow echoes Grellmann's description of their lascivious nature. Indeed, Borrow seems to burnish the reputation of Gypsy women as inherently erotic and cunning. He writes: "No females in the world can be more licentious in word and gesture, in dance and in song, than the Gitánas; but there they stop …"[203] Later, Borrow expands on his theme that the *Gitana* is circumscribed by a defined set of attributes: "[S]he is a procuress, though she is not to be procured; she is a singer of obscene songs, though she will suffer no obscene hand to touch her; and though no one is more tenacious of the little she possesses, she is a cutpurse and a shoplifter whenever opportunity shall offer."[204] He elaborates further: "She comes to flatter, and to deceive, and to rob, for she is a lying prophetess, and a she-Thug. … Such is the

---

[200] See Sarah Al-Matary,"L'archéologie verbale de Prosper Mérimée: du mythe personnel au mythe scientifique," in *Le mythe des bohémiens dans la littérature et les arts en Europe,* ed. Sarga Moussa (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), 127-147. Al-Matary speculates that Mérimée, who prided himself on his knowledge of the *Gitano's* language, *Calo*, might have read Grellmann's *Die Zigeuner* in its French translation.

[201] On the life of Borrow (1803-1881) and the popularity of and critical response to *The Zincali* and other nineteenth-century works devoted to Gypsies, see Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, 93-170.

[202] Borrow's work was known in France through Chasles's review, "Les Gypsies. *The Zincali* by George Borrow," *Revue des deux mondes* 27 (July-September 1841): 462-479. Davillier also mentioned Borrow's influential text in his travelogue, "Grenade," *Le Tour du monde* 10, 2nd sem. (1864): 410. For more on Borrow and his impact on Mérimée, see George T. Northup "The Influence of George Borrow upon Prosper Mérimée," *Modern Philology* 13, no. 3 (July 1915): 143-156; and Marie-Claude Schapira, "Les Bohémiens de George Borrow: ethnographie et littérature," *Le mythe des bohémiens dans la littérature et les arts en Europe*, ed. Sarga Moussa, 107-126. Schapira, 108, states that Borrow's 1843 work, *The Bible in Spain*, enjoyed immediate success with its translation in French in 1845 and led to a re-edition of *The Zincali* in France.

[203] Borrow, *The Zincali*, 52. Borrow differed from Grellmann on one point in his view of *Gitanas*. Borrow asserted that *Gitanas* maintained their chastity until marriage, remained faithful to their husbands, and would not consider sexual relations with a *Payo* (non-Gypsy). Later, Prosper Mérimée would mock Borrow's characterization by stating: "However, in Seville, Cadiz, and Granada, I came across in my time Gypsy women whose virtue did not resist a *duro*." Quoted in Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 61.

[204] Borrow, *The Zincali*, 72.

wandering Gitána, such is the witch-wife of Multan …"[205] While the Gypsy woman is marked by these misogynist traits, Borrow evokes a paradoxical being, one that is overtly sexual, yet chaste. This represents his only departure from the prototype established by Grellmann.

Grellmann and Borrow also advanced the theory that Gypsies comprised a separate race, remarking on the practice of endogamy among Gypsies to ensure the purity of their race.[206] There is no doubt that Borrow meant to emphasize the singularity of Gypsy culture within Spain. But the resemblance, physical as well as sartorial, of some Gypsies to the inhabitants of Andalusia, Spain's southern province, resulted in Borrow's fusion of – indeed, perhaps even a confusion between – the two populations. At times, Borrow could perceive only slight degrees of physical distinction between *Gitanas* and some Spanish women. Regarding the dress of *Gitanas* in Andalusia, Borrow writes, "There is little to distinguish them from the Spanish women save the absence of the mantilla, which they never carry. Females of fashion not unfrequently take pleasure in dressing à la Gitána, as it is called; but this female Gypsy fashion, like that of the men, is more properly the fashion of Andalusia, the principal characteristic of which is the saya, which is exceedingly short, with many rows of flounces."[207] And in another passage, Borrow asserts the proximity of skin color between Gypsy and Spaniard: "Their complexion is by no means uniform, save that it is invariably darker than the general olive hue of the Spaniards …"[208] What emerges in Borrow's work is a marginally composite picture of the Spanish Gypsy – part Gypsy, part Andalusian – not the monolithic type that Grellmann presents. Yet, Borrow's portrayal of the Spanish Gypsy – and by extension, the barely delineated Andalusian –

---

[205] Borrow, *The Zincali*, 74-75.

[206] Ibid., 155. While it is tempting to think that this assertion is based on Borrow's romantic vision of the Gypsy as a true outsider, Gypsy scholars contend that endogamy was and continues to be the norm. On endogamy in Gypsy culture, see Mayall, *Gypsy Identities, 1550-2000*, 134. Social anthropologist Paloma Gay y Blasco, in *Gyspies in Madrid: Sex, Gender and the Performance of Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), provides a detailed account of this practice in a contemporary *Gitano* barrio in Madrid.

[207] Borrow, *The Zincali*, 173.

[208] Ibid., 174.

demonstrates an exercise of power that, despite its pretense of asserting Gypsy racial purity, further tamps into place a hybrid Spanish Gypsy identity.

La femme espagnole and *la Gitana*: Gautier's Imprint

The French fascination with and appreciation for Spanish culture reached a high point by the second half of the nineteenth century and Manet's early work demonstrated a keen interest in Spanish art and themes.[209] Before his trip to Spain in 1865, Manet's impressions of Spain were conditioned by second-hand sources and works of art by Spanish masters he saw in Paris. As a student of Thomas Couture in 1851, Manet applied for permission to copy a work attributed to Velazquez in the Louvre where he may have also have seen images by other Spanish artists in the Galerie Espagnole before it closed in 1849. Antonin Proust confirms this interest in his biography of Manet, in which he described Manet's enthusiasm for Valezquez, Goya, and El Greco.[210] And Manet's evocation of Spanish culture in the early 1860s was encouraged by Zacharie Astruc, the painter's close friend and a dedicated hispanophile.[211]

Manet most likely would have also encountered a number of contemporary French texts devoted to Spain and Gypsy life since they enjoyed widespread popularity during much of the nineteenth century. I have already briefly touched upon Mérimée's novella, *Carmen* – to which I shall devote more attention – but there were numerous other publications that concentrated on

---

[209] On France's predilection for Spanish culture in the nineteenth century, see Hoffmann, *Romantique Espagne*; Tinterow, Lacambre, Roldán, et al., *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*; and Suzanne L Stratton, et al., *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain, 1800-1900*, exh. cat. (New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with the Spanish Institute, 1993). Armstrong, in *Manet Manette*, 72-133, examines the Spanish themes in Manet's canvases and prints as well as the critical responses to these images. She quotes critic Paul Mantz who described Manet as "a Parisian Spaniard" for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1863 (97).

[210] Antonin Proust, *Édouard Manet*: *souvenirs* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1913), 37. Alisa Luxenberg, *The Galerie Espagnole and the Museo Nacional 1835-1853: Saving Spanish Art, or the Politics of Patrimony* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 247, discusses "the 'delayed' influence of the Galerie Espagnole" (which exhibited the Spanish collection at the Louvre between 1838 and 1849) on Manet's Spanish-themed work.

[211] Astruc's hispanism is examined by Sharon Flescher in *Zacharie Astruc, Critic, Artist, and Japoniste 1833-1907* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978).

the colorful, "exotic Otherness"[212] of Spain and the Gypsy. Among those that aroused the imagination of the French public were Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1831, Alexandre Dumas *père's De Paris à Cadix*: *impressions de voyage*, 1846, Edgar Quinet's *Mes vacances en Espagne*, 1846, George Sand's *La filleule*, 1853; and Jean-Charles Davillier's travelogues that were published in *Le Tour du monde* beginning in 1862.[213]

Unquestionably, one of the most influential books was *Voyage en Espagne* written by art critic, novelist, and poet Théophile Gautier and first published in 1843. Gautier, the self-professed romantic, yearned to discover the Spain that had been formed by his imagination: a desolate sun-baked landscape, Christian and Moorish architecture, and the inhabitants – particularly the women – of a country that he believed had been little altered by modernity. As a critic of the blandness and uniformity of modern life, Gautier traveled to experience "difference" and to cast those differences in sharp relief against French culture.[214] At the beginning of his journey, after crossing the Pyrenees, he expressed his desire to "find here the Spanish feminine type."[215] In colorful language, he filled the pages of his travel memoir with vivid descriptions of the physical attributes, clothing, and comportment of Spanish women he encountered: the elegant *Madrileñas* and the demi-mondaine *manolas* of Madrid, and the *majas* and *Gitanas* of Andalusia.[216] Gautier summoned for his readers a shifting aesthetic that upheld a northern European preference for light-skinned women at the outset of his book but, as he travels further south into Andalusia, is supplanted by an attraction to the dark-skinned *femme espagnole*. The fair women from Madrid are soon eclipsed by

---

[212] I borrow Carol Armstrong's term. See *Manet Manette*, 106.

[213] Beth Archer Brombert in *Édouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1996), 9-10, 173-179, discusses the currency of Spanish literature and visual culture for the French during Manet's youth and maturity.

[214] On Gautier's life and work, see Robert Snell, *Théophile Gautier, a Romantic Critic of the Visual Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

[215] Théophile Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain, Voyage en Espagne*, trans. Catherine Alison Phillips (Oxford: Signal Books, 2001), 27.

[216] See Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 110-112, for her discussion of Gautier's fascination with Spanish costume and his distinct dislike for the adoption of French modern dress by the Spanish. Armstrong notes that, ironically, French travelers like Gautier were responsible to some extent for bringing modern fashion to Spain.

his growing fascination with the tawny-colored complexions of southern women. It is worth pointing out that the further south he journeys, the greater is his emphasis on a racialist indexing of women's features. Those portraits, which begin with the fair-skinned respectable *Madrileña* and the slightly-darker prostitute/*manola* of Madrid and conclude with the bronze-colored Andalusian and *Gitana*, parallel his journey from quasi-modern Spain to its most remote and exotic terrain.

Unsure of what he would discover in Madrid and relying on cultural and racialist assumptions about the Spanish, Gautier seemed surprised to find that there are, indeed, light-skinned women in Spain: "What we understand in France by the Spanish type does not exist in Spain. … [W]e usually imagine a long, pale, oval face, great black eyes … a mouth as red as a pomegranate, and, over all, a warm, golden tone justifying the words in the song: 'She is as yellow as an orange.' This is the Arab or Moorish type, not the Spanish. … It is a mistake to believe that there are no fair women in Spain."[217] Yet, Madrid also provided Gautier with his introduction to the anticipated "feminine Spanish type" – and one should note the constant usage of the word "type" in his narrative to define women – he invoked earlier in his work. Here, the pastiche of Spanish, African, and "Oriental" secure a hybrid identity and a sexualized nature for the Spanish woman and later for the Gypsy. Gautier remarked on observing one of the working-class *manolas*, whom he associated with the *grisettes* of Paris: "She had a bronzed complexion, a steady, sad gaze, rather thick lips and a touch of the African in the shape of her face."[218] Once reaching Granada in Andalusia, the *maja* and *Gitana* became the object of his gaze. Gautier's evocation of the Spanish woman and Gypsy were so pervasive and instrumental in constructing the Gypsy stereotype in the French imagination that is worthwhile quoting him at length:

[217] Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 81-82.
[218] Ibid., 83.

> A few women of the people wore red capes which touched in high lights and dots of glittering scarlet on the darker background of the crowd. The fantastic costumes, bronzed faces, sparkling eyes, spirited expression, and calm impassive carriage of these *majos*, of whom there are more here than anywhere else, give the population of Jaen an aspect which is rather African than European …[219]
>
> The *gitanas* sell amulets, tell fortunes, and practice the shady trades customary among the women of their race: I have seen very few pretty ones, though their faces were remarkably typical and characteristic. Their swarthy skin sets off the clearness of their Eastern eyes, whose fire is tempered by a sort of mysterious melancholy, the memory … of an absent fatherland and a fallen greatness. Their mouths are rather thick-lipped and highly-coloured, recalling the full mouths of Africa; their narrow brows, and the arched form of their noses, betray their common origin with the Gypsies of Wallachia and Bohemia, and all the descendants of that strange race which pervaded the society of the Middle Ages under the generic term of Egyptians, and of which all these centuries have failed to break the mysterious succession. Almost all the women possess a natural majesty of port and a supple carriage, and hold themselves so erect from the hips that in spite of their rags; dirt and poverty, they seem conscious of the antiquity and purity of their unmixed descent. … [W]e caught sight of a little girl of eight, stark naked, who was practicing dancing the *zorongo* on the sharp cobble-stones. … The mother, richly dressed, with her neck loaded with glass beads, beat time with the tip of a blue velvet slipper …[220]

Gautier, in spite of his conclusion that Gypsies represent a pure race, nevertheless orchestrates an image that resonates with illusions to the "Orient" – Africa and Egypt – the same racial signifiers he employs to describe the *manola*s and Andalusian women. While he clearly knew something of the embellished history of Gypsy origins and settlement in Central Europe, Gautier's image of the *Gitana* mirrors what most of the anthropological narratives, including Grellmann's and Borrow's, affirmed in their studies: she is impoverished, yet proud; she is dressed in tattered rags, yet laden with beads and colorful clothing. Like the pseudo-scientific studies before him, Gautier reduces the *Gitana* to a sensual being whose nature is to perform and tempt. In his poem, "Carmen," 1852, Gautier rephrases the essentialist qualities he ascribed to the *Gitana* in *Voyage en Espagne*:

---

[219] Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 165.
[220] Ibid, 197.

Slender is Carmen, of lissome guise,
Her hair is black as the midnight's heart;
Dark circles are under her gypsy eyes,
Her swarthy skin is the devil's art.
. . . . . .

Nestled in warmth of her amber neck
Lies a massive coil, till she fling it down
To be a raiment to frame and deck
Her delicate body from foot to crown.

Then out from her pallid face with power
Her witching, terrible smiles compel.
Her mouth is a mystical poison-flower
That hath drawn its crimson from hearts in hell.

The haughtiest beauty must yield her fame,
When this strange vision shall dusk her sky.
For Carmen rules, and her glance's flame
Shall set the torch to satiety.[221]

Gautier's evocative and visual language assumed the mantle of authority for those who could not travel to Spain and for whom the female Gypsy existed in the imagination as a strange, yet enticing figure. Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, seen in relationship to Gautier's travel memoir, may seem to emulate Gautier's colorful, melancholic figure. If, as Gautier contends, Gypsy culture is perceived as unchanging, primitive, and sensual,[222] how does Manet's *Gypsy* support or undercut these notions? Although Gautier's text is not the sole transcription of the Spanish Gypsy, his treatise established a template against which later characterizations of the *Gitana* in French literature and visual culture could be measured. Manet's interpretation of the female Spanish Gypsy elides some of Gautier's carefully

[221] Gautier, "Carmen," in *The Complete Works*, vol. 12, *Art and Criticism*, *Enamels and Cameos and Other Poems*, trans. and ed. Frederick C. de Sumichrast (Boston: C.T. Brainard, 1900), 138-139. Marilyn R. Brown notes that Gautier's poem acknowledges and responds to Mérimée's prototype as well as to Gautier's observations of the female Gypsy in Andalusia.

[222] Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 31, and Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 10-13. Both authors draw on the work of Edward Said in laying out the ways in which the French perceived Gypsy culture as sensual, feminine, and mysterious. Charnon-Deutsch, 64, also argues that Gautier romanticized the Gypsies by characterizing them as racially pure and as a "people for whom time stood still."

constructed characteristics while retaining only those elements that mark the figure marginally as Spanish and *Gitana*: the Spanish comb in her hair, the colorful clothing of the *maja* and *Gitana*, black hair, deep brown eyes, and dark skin. Other French artists, some of whom had the opportunity to witness Spanish and Gypsy culture first-hand, mirrored Gautier's passionate and overdetermined language in their images of the *Gitana*.

Proust's recollection of Manet's engagement with Spanish artists and subject matter begins with the work of Velazquez, El Greco, and Goya, but the hispanophile French painter Alfred Dehodencq is, interestingly, singled out by Proust as among the contemporary artists who Manet admired. Proust recalls Manet saying, "Dehodencq saw and saw very well."[223] Dehodencq, one of many nineteenth-century French artists and writers who traveled to Spain, lived there for more than a decade between 1850 and 1863. His desire to find the true bohemian in Andalusia brought him into contact with *Gitana* dancers, the subject of *A Gypsy Dance in the Gardens of the Alcázar in Front of the Pavilion of Charles V,* c. 1852 [Figure 26]. In this composition, Dehodencq places the *Gitana* dancer in the center of the composition where she performs before a mostly male audience of musicians and onlookers. She is at once visually and sexually available under the scrutiny of the presumed male viewer whose gaze is implied by the intent look of the male Gypsies placed on either side of her.[224] Clothed in a brilliant magenta-hued waist-length shawl – making the pink stucco of the Pavilion pale in comparison – and framed by an arcade of the pavilion, the dancer rotates her body towards the viewer, snapping her fingers to the accompanying music and directing her glance coquettishly at the spectator. For

[223] Proust, *Édouard Manet. Souvenirs*, 37: "Dehodencq a vu et très bien vu."

[224] An insightful exploration of the gaze in nineteenth-century French literature is found in Debarati Sanyal, *The Violence of Modernity: Baudelaire, Irony, and the Politics of Form* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 128, in which she contextualizes the "imperialist masculine gaze" in Baudelaire's poem, "La Belle Dorothée." Contrary to most literary historians, Sanyal does not interpret Baudelaire's characterization of the African-Carribbean woman in his poem as "celebrating the dark female body." On the other hand, the *Gitanas* in the representations by Gautier and Dehodencq acquiesce to the male gaze.

this work, Dehodencq was praised, in language that exaggerates what we see in the image, by a fellow French artist for capturing "a brutal and energetic dance of true Bohemians."[225]

Gautier bestowed his favor on another painting by Dehodencq, *Bohemians Returning from an Andalusian Festival*, in his review of the 1853 Salon: "Long live this cheerful misery, this love under an intense sun and this carefree bohemian existence!"[226] He goes on to write: "The painting of M. Dehodencq has rekindled in me the dream that I have had one hundred times to discard my writer's pen to run away to lead the untroubled life with these Spanish beggars."[227] Despite what we now more clearly see as Dehodencq's picturesque, non-threatening, and timeless Gypsy world – one lacking ambiguities and any sign of modern life – Gautier praised the artist's veracity in capturing the true nature of the Spanish Gypsy. Once again, in his 1853 review of Dehodencq, he commended the artist's veracity: "[I]t is impossible to be more truthful, more local, more characteristic. Each brushstroke is an observation, and when this bizarre race … will have disappeared … one will find it completely, with its type, its gestures, its allure, in the painting of M. Dehodencq which we place along side of *Carmen* …"[228] That type included the *Gitana* and Gabriel Séailles, Dehodencq's biographer, upheld the fixed somatic attributes and vanity of the *Gitana* in his late nineteenth-century biography of Dehodencq. He wrote:

> Their large, slanting Oriental eyes … a dark flame in a pearly whiteness, are shaded by thick and long eyelashes. … They have a bold countenance, the unconstrained look of a wild animal. The women, [with] their rounded figures well-placed on their hips, have the grace of 'bodies softened by walking and

[225] M. de Latour quoted in Gabriel Séailles, *Alfred Dehodencq: histoire d'un coloriste* (Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1885), 78: "[U]ne danse brutale et énergique de vrais bohémiennes."

[226] Gautier, "Salon de 1853," *La Presse* (July 20, 1853): 2: "Vive cette joyeuse misère, cet amour au grand soleil et cette insouciance bohémienne!"

[227] Ibid.: "Le tableau de M. Dehodencq a ranimé chez nous ce rêve que nous avons fait cent fois de jeter la notre plume de feuilletoniste et d'aller mener la vie de la *lune* avec les gueux espagnols."

[228] Ibid.: "[I]l est impossible d'être plus vrai, plus local, plus caractérisque. Chaque coup de pinceau est une observation, et quand cette race bizarre … aura disparu … on la retrouvera tout entière, avec son type, son geste, son allure, dans le tableau de M. Dehodencq, que nous mettons du côté de *Carmen* …"

> dance,' with a primitive coquetry that is revealed in the vivacious colors of red, orange, yellow, blue, in the finery, gathered skirts and flounces.[229]

The body of Manet's Gypsy is neither rounded nor softened. In fact, very little of the Gypsy's form is revealed under her loose blouse and flaring skirt. Indeed, her legs, admired as the source of the Gypsy's lustful dance, are cropped from the composition. Against a blue backdrop, scumbled with white pigment to evince clouds, the Gypsy comfortably rests her right arm against a black horse.[230] Only the hind and fringe of its mane are visible. A second horse, white and severely cropped so that only its suspended head can be seen, faces the Gypsy. Flatly applied passages of olive and lemon green in the space beneath the flank of the dark horse serve as the only allusion to the background since Manet offers no perspectival space in which the Gypsy or the horses can exist. Manet employs rich sunset colors, saturated oranges, gold, and tawny hues, enlivened by accents of pink, lavender, and crimson, on both the Gypsy's blouse and her flaring skirt. The wide and loose bell-shaped sleeve of the blouse fans out over the lower left arm while the fabric of the right sleeve spills over the side of the horse exposing the right arm which is composed of flat, unmodulated passages of pigment, outlined by a deeper shade of copper-brown. Diagonal, angular lines are emphasized more than organic, rounded forms with the exception of the collar and the Gypsy's face. The jet-black mass of hair is matted to her head. Black eyebrows and the hint of a furrow across her forehead accentuate her heavy-lidded eyes. Manet allows only the side curls and a few loose strands of hair to escape from the comb atop her head to soften the contours of her face. A ring on the middle finger of her left hand, bracelet, dangling hoop earrings, and bangles in her hair, standard accessories of the female Gypsy, complete her

---

[229] Séailles, *Alfred Dehodencq*, 76: "Leurs grands yeux d'orientaux, obliques … une flamme sombre dans une blancheur nacrée, sont ombragés de cils épais et longs. … Ils ont la démarche hardie, l'allure franche de l'animal en liberté. Les femmes, la taille cambrée, bien assises sur les hanches, ont la grâce 'des corps assouplis par la marche et la danse,' avec une coquetterie de sauvages qui se prend aux couleurs vives, rouge, orangé, jaune, bleu, aux oripeaux, aux volants et aux falbalas."

[230] One cannot tell from the painting if the Gypsy is standing or sitting on a high seat. The figure's disposition is ambiguous.

costume.[231] A balance between dark and light pigment gives way to a canvas surprisingly even in value. The white horse, streaks of white pigment on the Gypsy's blouse, and the cigarette function as counterpoints to the intense values of the Gypsy's dress, the black horse, and most importantly, her skin tone.

The Sensual Gypsy: *La Peau Pâle à la Peau Brune Foncée*

The Spanish peninsula, separated from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees, summoned for the French images of barren mountains and plains under a glaring sun, marked with ruins of the Moors.[232] First-hand encounters by French travelers, dating from the late eighteenth century, chronicled and celebrated differences in climate, topography, and customs. The Duchess d'Abrantès, writing of her trips to Spain and Portugal between 1808 and 1811, captured the essence of Spain's isolation and appeal to northern European travelers in her travel memoir: "I found Spain a country apart from Europe, and apart in a manner so strangely beautiful, that I was able to admire [it] without thinking about its disadvantages which were close [at hand]."[233] Deeper excursions into Spain brought French travelers into contact with the people of Andalusia, where the majority of Spain's Gypsies had settled. Andalusia, situated closest to Africa, further

[231] Grellmann, *Die Zigeuner*, 21, scorns the vanity of *Gitanas* who adorn themselves with "all sorts of trumpery in their ears … besides a number of baubles about their neck." George Borrow provides an even more detailed description of the *Gitana's* appearance and ornamentation in *The Zincali*, 75: "[H]er hair, which hangs in long locks on either side of her face, is black as coal, and coarse as the tail of a horse. … Huge rings of false gold dangle from wide slits in the lobes of her ears; her nether garments are rags, and her feet are cased in hempen sandals."

[232] On the expectations of French travelers in Spain, see Alisa Luxenberg, "Over the Pyrenees and Through the Looking-Glass: French Culture Reflected in Its Imagery of Spain," in *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain, 1800-1900*, 11-37. Luxenberg examines the importance of the *Galerie Espagnole*, which opened in Paris in 1838, and introduced French artists and the public to Spanish art. Luxenberg also addresses the perpetuation of the notion of Spain as the "exotic Other" to France.

[233] Laure Junot Abrantès, *Souvenirs d'une ambassade et d'un séjour en Espagne et en Portugal, de 1808 à 1811*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Hauman, Cattoir, 1838), 33: "[J']ai trouvé l'Espagne un pays à part de l'Europe, et à part d'une façon si etrangement belle, que je n'ai pu qu'admirer sans songer aux inconvénients qui étaient à côté."

strengthened the conflation of Spanish, Gypsy, Muslim, and African cultures.[234] The terms Andalusian and Gypsy were interchangeable; each population effectively denied any cultural autonomy. "The Andalusians are a mixed breed of various nations, Romans, Vandals, Moors; perhaps there is a slight sprinkling of Gypsy blood in their veins, and of Gypsy fashion in their garb," George Borrow wrote in *The Zincali*, 1841.[235]

The Andalusian and Gypsy did share a common art: dance. The flamenco, associated with Andalusian and *Gitano* culture, was accompanied by the haunting sounds of the *cante jondo* (deep song) that articulated the intense emotional states of love, sorrow, and mourning the dancer suggested through movement.[236] The transition – and, indeed, the upstaging – from evocative Andalusian female dancer to arousing Gypsy performer is charted in the following travel narratives. The first, from a comprehensive study of Spain by Baron Jean-François de Bourgoing who served as French ambassador to Madrid, is part travel journal and part encyclopedic account of Spanish history, geography, natural resources, agriculture, economy, and culture. In between prosaic details on Spanish geography, Bourgoing's 1789 narrative comes to life when he describes Spanish dance. Here, Bourgoing rhapsodizes about the animated and graceful Andalusian *seguidilla*, a dance also performed by Andalusian Gypsies: "A Spanish female dancing the Seguidilla, dressed in character, accompanying the instruments with castanets, and

[234] In his chapters on Andalusia in *A Romantic in Spain*, Gautier repeatedly alludes to Arab culture and Africa: "As soon as one has crossed the Sierra Morena the aspect of the country undergoes an entire change; it is as if one had suddenly passed from Europe into Africa …" (160). "This unexpected palm-tree was like a sudden revelation of the East as one turned a corner. … I expected to see the ostrich-like necks of camels outlined against the sunset glow, and the white burnouses of the Arabs in a caravan" (162).

[235] Borrow, *The Zincali*, 173.

[236] See Bernard Leblon, *Gypsies and Flamenco*: *The Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia*, trans. Sinéad ní Shuinéar (Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2003), for the history of the flamenco as well the Gypsy interpretation of the *seguidilla*. On the flamenco and its transcription into visual form, see DeGuzmán's chapter on John Singer Sargent's *El Jaleo*, 1882, in *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*, 126-137.

marking the measure with her heel with uncommon precision, is certainly one of the most seducing objects which love can employ to extend his empire."[237]

Sixty years later Alexandre Dumas *père*, in vivid and charged language, recalled witnessing the flamenco on his journey into Andalusia. He cast a Gypsy brother and sister as the incestuous lovers and performers of the dance:

> The first roll of the castanets is heard, the first chords of the guitar quiver, the father begins to sing the same bohemian song that is heard repeatedly in Spain … one of the two daughters begins to move in unison with her brother …
>
> … [A] slight movement of the hips fails to incite lustful looks between brother and sister. But their glances become more and more agitated. The dancers moving closer, little by little, converge, not only touching hands, but gently touching lips. The noise and movement, which resembled a battle between sensation and modesty, ended with the two mouths half touching, the brother and sister having stopped themselves, watching each other, close to abandoning themselves to the desire that burned in their eyes and pushed the one towards the other.[238]

Dumas, like Gautier before him, turned his attention to the female Gypsy whose lascivious dancing and promiscuity could be exploited for the delight of his readers without challenging the ordered bourgeois culture of the north.[239] Safely confined to Spain, she offered no threat of contamination to the French.

More than any other writer of Gypsy tales, Prosper Mérimée captured the public's attention with his novella, *Carmen*, first published in 1845 in the journal *Revue des deux*

---

[237] Jean-François de Bourgoing, *Travels in Spain: Containing a New, Accurate, and Comprehensive View of the Present State of that Country. By the Chevalier de Bourgoanne. To which are added, copious extracts from the essays on Spain of M. Peyron*, vol. 2 (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 185. On Bourgoing and Spanish dance, see Hoffmann, *Romantique Espagne*, 110.

[238] Alexandre Dumas *père* and Pierre François Eugène Giraud, *De Paris à Cadix: impressions de voyage* (Paris: Somogy, 2001), 153-154: "Les premiers roulements de castagnettes se firent entendre, les premiers accords le la guitare frémirent; le père se mit à chanter cette même chanson bohémienne qu'on retrouve sans cesse en Espagne … et une des deux filles commença de se mettre en mouvement avec son frère. … [U]ne faible mouvement de hanche qu'essayaient en vain d'animer les regards lascifs du frère et de la sœur. Mais ces regards devinrent de plus en plus provocateurs. Les danseurs se rapprochèrent peu à peu et se croisèrent, non plus en se touchant de la main, mais en s'effleurant des lèvres. Des trépignements qui semblaient le combat de sens et de la pudeur résultaient de ces deux bouches à moitié confondues, et le frère et la sœur s'arrêtaient ainsi, se regardant, et prêts à s'abandonner au désir qui brûlait leurs yeux et les poussait l'un vers l'autre."

[239] McClary, in *Georges Bizet: Carmen*, 40, comments on the surprising number of women of color depicted in early nineteenth-century French fiction. She writes: "Even in these early texts, the woman of color stands as a site of untamed female desire."

mondes.[240] The story succeeded as a masterful integration of salacious details and morality. Beyond her capacity to seduce male Gypsies for her own pleasure and profit, Carmen's rapacious sexual appetite extends to the non-Gypsy Spaniard, Don José, who is doomed by his obsession with her, and the French archeologist narrator whose reason frees him from her beguiling ways. Her sexual desires are equaled by her fondness for smoking – she works as a *cigarrera*, rolling cigars at a factory in Seville – and she engages in seductive play with the narrator at the outset of the novella by smoking a cigarette with him. Carmen also leads a band of smugglers, succeeding where her male Gypsy compatriots fail. Although Mérimée endows Carmen with an enticing and fatal beauty, he undermines her femininity with decidedly male attributes.[241] Mérimée also exploits opportunities to draw vivid pictures of Carmen's attire and physical characteristics. Her dress is composed of a short red skirt over which she wears a torn white blouse. Even though she places the mantilla over her shoulders, it falls off, revealing more flesh. She returns the gaze of those who observe her on the streets of Seville, "eyeing them archly, with her fist on her hip, brazen like the true Gypsy she was."[242] Through the character Don José, Carmen's lover, Mérimée alternatively describes her as an alluring and dangerous beauty:

> Her skin, thought perfectly smooth, was nearly the colour of copper. Her eyes were slanting, but remarkably wide; her lips rather full. … She had a strange, wild beauty, a face that was disconcerting at first, but unforgettable. Her eyes in particular had an expression, at once voluptuous and fierce, that I have never seen on any human face. 'Gypsy's eye, wolf's eye' is a phrase Spaniards apply to people with keen powers of observation. If you don't have time to visit the zoo in

[240] The 1847 edition of *Carmen* includes a fourth chapter in which Mérimée expounds on the physiognomic features of *Gitanos* and corrects what he considered to be Borrow's shortcomings in describing the *Gitana*. See *Carmen and Other Stories*, 333-339.

[241] Carmen's teasing of her lover Don José's virility and her sexual aggressiveness not only endowed her with "masculine" traits but can also be understood as Mérimée's way of "emasculating" Spanish men. See José F. Colmeiro, "Exorcising Exoticism: 'Carmen' and the Construction of Oriental Spain," 138.

[242] Mérimée, *Carmen and Other Stories*, 21.

> the Jardin des Plantes to study the look in a wolf's eye, watch your cat when it is stalking a sparrow.[243]

Manet's Gypsy does bear a resemblance to the vivid description of Mérimée's Carmen, but Manet's figure lacks the intensity of spirit that Carmen embodies. Placing one hand "on her hip," a gesture frequently associated with arrogance and defiance, Manet's Gypsy, lost in thought, neither solicits attention nor evokes Carmen's threatening presence. Unengaged and unfocused, the Gypsy's eyes lack the penetrating vision attributed to the stereotype. The Gypsy's coloring corresponds to what Mérimée emphasizes as dark, bronzed skin and Manet employs a palette of gold, oranges, and crimson to capture the flamboyant colors of Gypsy dress evoked in many literary narratives. Yet, Manet's Gypsy stands separate from the literary prototypes. Little of their seduction, danger, or unrestrained passion, is manifest in Manet's *Gitana.*

Pictorial images of the *Gitana* flourished throughout the nineteenth century and the critical response to these images, much of it written by Gautier and Mérimée, reinscribed the stereotype they helped to construct. As arbiters of Spanish and Gypsy culture, Gautier and Mérimée attempted to ensure a fidelity to their perceptions of the Gypsy. In his review of the Salon of 1853, Mérimée singled out the *Danse dans une posada de Grenade*, 1852 [Figure 27], to reproach the artist Eugène Giraud for the "coldness of the dancers' costumes and their graceful movements."[244] Despite Giraud's colorful image of male and female dancers in a courtyard, moving to the pulsating rhythm of the guitar and tambourines, Mérimée found fault with its

---

[243] Mérimée, *Carmen and Other Stories*, 14-15.

[244] Quoted in Brown, "The Image of the Bohémien from Diaz to Manet and Van Gogh," 237: "Pour moi, puriste en matière d'Andalousie, je trouve les habits trop frais, les danseurs trop gracieux." The dancers are engaged in a highly exaggerated movement that was frequently praised by critics of Spanish dance, particularly Gautier. Giraud, a traveling companion of Dumas on the trip to Spain in 1846, presumably knew Andalusian dance well. Gautier, however, praised Giraud's work in his review of the "Salon of 1853," *La Presse* (July 20, 1853): 2: "*La Danse dans une posada de Grenade* est un joyeux et brillant tableau animé au plus haut degré de la furie andalouse, d'une vérité moins vraie que celle de M. Dehodencq, mais très locale, très exacte et très bien saisie." ("*La Danse dans une posada de Grenade* is a cheerful and brilliant painting enlivened to a great extent [by] authentic Andalusian fury, [but] less true than that of M. Dehodencq, but very local, very exact, and very well captured."

veracity, and his choice of words, which denies Gypsies graceful movement, underscored the same derision for the Gypsies that pervade his novella. For Mérimée, Gypsies were the wild and savage counterpart to the French.

In place of the panoramic, brilliant sun-drenched landscapes and colorfully dressed Gypsies prominent in Dehodencq's and Giraud's paintings, Gustave Doré's black and white images intimately depicted the poverty of Gypsies and the *Gitana* is the primary subject of these contrived and socially conscious works. Engravings made after Doré's original drawings of the sites and people he encountered on his tour of Spain in 1862 were published in the travel journal *Le Tour du monde* over the course of several years,[245] and they substantiated the stereotypes that originated in the writings of Gautier and Mérimée. Doré, who primarily, and ironically, employed French models to pose as *Gitanas*,[246] adroitly simplified the female Gypsy's body. She is either the eroticized, performing, youthful beauty in *Gitana dansant*, 1866 [Figure 28], or the emaciated, toothless hag, whose aging body is the fate of Gypsy women in *Toilette d'une gitana, à Diezma*, 1864 [Figure 29]. Desirability and beauty yield to a grotesque caricature of old age. Even the animals included in the composition, the grizzled hound in front of the old woman and the plump, lascivious cat placed nearest the young *Gitana*, allude to the physiognomies and sexuality of the old and youthful *Gitanas* repeatedly articulated in nineteenth-century written accounts of the female Spanish Gypsy.[247] In other images, Doré diversified these types of scenes with images of family and motherhood. *Famille de musiciens nomades*, 1864 [Figure 30], is

[245] See Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 78-85. Doré's images were accompanied by the text of noted hispanist, Baron Jean-Charles Davillier in the illustrated journal, *Le Tour du monde*, beginning in 1862. Engravings, made after Doré's drawings, were eventually published along with Davillier's text in 1874 under the title, *L'Espagne*. For the facsimile, see Jean-Charles Davillier and Gustave Doré, *Voyage en Espagne: le tour du monde, 1862-1873*.

[246] Charnon-Deutsch., *The Spanish Gypsy*, 78.

[247] Mérimée, in the fourth chapter of *Carmen*, 1847, writes: "[B]eauty is a truly rare attribute among the *gitanas* of Spain. While they are still very young, their ugliness may be not unattractive; but once they have borne children they become positively repulsive." See *Carmen and Other Stories*, 334.

laden with familiar Gypsy symbolism: the wandering musicians bereft of all possessions but their instruments and a basket of goods. The endless cycle of poverty is thematized in the half-nude child grasping onto its mother's skirt. Whether dancing for their own or others' pleasure or roaming the countryside as vagabonds, Gypsies were effectively denied any sense of agency.

Doré's illustrations were first published in *Le Tour du monde* in 1862, the year in which Manet painted *Gypsy with a Cigarette*. Artists' and the public's enthusiasm for Gypsy images continued unabated. In researching Salon exhibitions from 1831 to 1881, Marilyn R. Brown notes that every Salon *livret* during this fifty-year period included entries for a number of Gypsy-themed paintings. With only four listed in the 1833 *livret*, the number grew to nineteen in 1848, and extended to its greatest number of twenty in 1861.[248]

Indeed, the trajectory of the image of the single female Gypsy that leads to Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette* began much earlier in the century in academic painting. The public and certain critics praised *Esméralda* [Figure 31] by Charles Auguste Steuben when it was exhibited at the Salon of 1839.[249] The subject of the painting, the ill-fated Gypsy heroine of Victor Hugo's novel, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1831, is seated on a disheveled bed, barely dressed, her shift falling provocatively off her shoulders. Bathed in a glowing light, she tenderly, one could argue amorously, embraces her goat, Djali. Her dark hair contrasts with her pale skin. Esméralda, stolen and raised by Gypsies, afforded Steuben a justification to eroticize a northern European female body through the guise of a Gypsy. Hugo introduced the fiery dancer Esméralda as a dark beauty: "Her complexion was dark, but it was easy to divine that by daylight her skin must have

[248] Brown, *Gypsies and Other Bohemians*, 4 and 55.
[249] For example, see Alexandre Barbier's review of the painting in his *Salon de 1839* (Paris: Joubert, 1839), 37-42.

had the beautiful golden tint of the Roman and Andalusian women."[250] But Esméralda in Hugo's novel acted as a proxy for Gypsy sexuality. She functioned as a delectable counterfeit, gratifying the reader with her seductive performances until she is reclaimed at the end of the novel when her non-Gypsy identity is revealed. Steuben's painting exploited this exquisite tease, using the pretext of the seductive female Gypsy to sexualize the image of a fair-skinned woman.

Steuben was not the only nineteenth-century French artist to alter the ethnicity of a female figure in order to make her palatable to the public. In her discussion of nineteenth-century painted images of women in Orientalist costume, Marni R. Kessler argues that a modernist painter such as "Auguste Renoir, like Manet, took French models and manipulated facial features, clothing, and setting in order to produce his brand of Orientalist painting."[251] She later emphasizes that "the models of Manet, Gérôme, and Renoir *had* to have recognizable elements of Frenchness (or Europeaness) to be desirable to a French audience."[252] I believe that this argument is relevant in viewing painted images of female Gypsies and offers a way of understanding the disconnect between the written and visual representations of the Gypsy's skin color. If the public could tolerate the more accurate racialist or ethnological descriptions of Gypsies in literature, they were far more comfortable with a northern European model cast as the Gypsy in paintings and graphic arts. While literary descriptions consistently emphasized the darkness of the *Gitana's* skin, paradoxically the sexual fantasy of the Gypsy seemed most appealing when inscribed onto the body of a French model.

---

[250] Victor Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, trans. Catherine Liu (New York: The Modern Library, 2002), 56. Hugo also reiterated the myth of the Egyptian origin for Gypsies in the novel stating: "These hideous people had come – so it was said – straight from Egypt to Reims through Poland …" (196).

[251] Marni R. Kessler, *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 139.

[252] Ibid., 140.

Even artists such as Camille Corot and modernist Gustave Courbet, whose images of the female Gypsy appear to transcend the narrative and literal interpretations that circumscribed other representations of female Gypsies, continued to exploit the Gypsy, not only as an objectified figure, but as light-skinned. Corot's *Gypsy Girl at a Fountain*, 1865-1870 [Figure 32], offers the timeless metaphor of nature gendered as woman. Corot places his Gypsy, undoubtedly a French model dressed in generic folk costume, at the edge of a fountain, holding an empty vessel, thereby doubling his reference to the female body. Although Corot's Gypsy is the embodiment of modesty and restraint compared with the vivacious dancers of Giraud and Dehodencq, Corot reinforces another Gypsy stereotype: the Gypsy as one with nature. His lyrical landscape is in perfect harmony with this contemplative figure.[253] *Réverie Tsigane*, 1869 [Figure 33], by Courbet invokes a sensuality that is suppressed in Manet's composition. In comparison to Manet's painting, Courbet eliminates the details of costume and concentrates instead on the close-up depiction of the body of the *tsigane*.[254] The luxuriant loose black hair, frequently pointed out in literary descriptions of the *Gitana*, serves to eroticize Courbet's figure. Dark tresses tumble over her light skin, made visible by her falling shift, directing the eye to her right breast. Smoky umber hues suggesting a face and neck exposed to sunlight are juxtaposed against ivory and opaline that articulate her chest and breast and render her exposed torso more palpable.

[253] Brown, *Gypsies and Other Bohemians*, 74, notes that at least eleven paintings in Corot's oeuvre were titled *Bohémienne*.

[254] For the etymology of "tsigane," see Vaux de Foletier, *Les Bohémiens en France au 19e siècle*, 18-19. The term is derived from a medieval Greek word and Vaux de Foletier confirms that its usage in French was current from the mid-1850s. He believes its usage conferred an additional element of exoticism and mystery to Gypsy populations living in France during the nineteenth century. The use of "tsigane" could also be linked to efforts to differentiate the racialized Gypsy from "bohémien," a term that was increasingly associated with artists. Marilyn Brown raises the possibility that the model for Courbet's painting could have been a Gypsy living in Paris. See *Gypsies and Other Bohemians*, 77.

I have thus far established the image of the female Spanish Gypsy through the lens of authoritative texts and works of art, many of which would have been known to Manet.[255] Beth Archer Brombert points out in her biography of Manet that "[i]n the nineteenth century the romantic imagination would be inflamed by the Spanish heroes, heroines, and settings of Hugo's *Hernani* and *Ruy Blas*, Mérimée's *Carmen*, Gautier's *Tra los montes* [*Voyage en Espagne*], Musset's *Contes d'Espagne* – the list goes on."[256] While not present in every one of these texts, the Spanish Gypsy nevertheless assumed a ubiquitous presence in nineteenth-century French literature. Gautier valorized the *Gitana*, raising her worth for writer and artist by blurring the boundaries between her inherent Gypsiness and Spanishness. Dumas and Mérimée, while clearly dazzled by the sexual allure of the female Gypsy, embedded moral rhetoric in their work. They satisfied a sense of moral superiority at the same time as they profited from the public's growing fascination with the female Spanish Gypsy. I have also traced the development of the pictorial image of the female Spanish Gypsy from the sensual performer in Romantic painting to a figure at mid-century who, along with the imagined Oriental female body, served as the site of male fantasy, desire, and possession. She may affect a slightly different appearance from one image to another, but writers and artists ensured that she was consistent in acting out the prescribed role.

Inversions

Manet certainly aspired to profit from the public's taste for Spanish themes after the critical success his *The Spanish Singer* enjoyed in the Salon of 1861. Perhaps his Gypsy-themed images, *Les Gitanos (The Gypsies*) and *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, functioned simply as anecdotal

[255] Hoffmann, *Romantique Espagne*, 123-135, provides an exhaustive list of works of fiction, essays, and performances devoted to the subject of the Spanish Gypsy in France during the first half of the nineteenth century. Also see Brown, "The Image of the Bohémien from Diaz to Manet and Van Gogh," 428-446, for primary sources – French verse, social history, and fiction – dedicated to the Spanish Gypsy from the mid-nineteenth century.

[256] Brombert, *Édouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat*, 10.

and complementary components to a body of work that encompassed the clichéd subject matter of Spanish dancing and bull-fighting. Aside from seeking critical approval of his work by catering to the vogue for Spanish subject matter, Manet also exploited the indeterminate nature of Gypsiness and Spanishness, race and gender in these images, rendering them at once familiar and disconcerting to the public. Dark, sensual, cunning, and feminine were the key attributes shared by the Gypsy and her Spanish counterparts: the Andalusian dancer, the *maja*, and the *manola*. But Manet seemed to have grasped the fact that the Spanish Gypsy was filtered through a constructed, highly artificial notion of Gypsy and Spanish culture. Here I want to explore a set of inversions and shifts between light and dark, feminine and masculine, disguise and essentialism in Manet's Spanish/Gypsy-themed work of 1862 that articulated questions about the determinacy of external signs to signify authentic identity.

Manet made this strategy explicit when he emphasized the artifice of costuming and cross-dressing as an integral aspect of two of his Spanish-themed paintings – *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* and *Mlle V . . . in the Costume of an Espada*. Manet's appropriation of the costume of the bullfighter/matador for his French, pale-skinned, and shapely female models only highlights the deftness with which he can foreground the contrivance of costume as means of substituting gender (feminine/masculine) and nationality (French/Spanish).[257] But Manet also exploited costume in these images to accentuate the rounded contours of his models, sexualizing them for the pleasure of the male viewer. Both the *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* and *Mlle V . . . in the Costume of an Espada* offered a visually provocative game in which the viewer is made aware of the way in which the tight-fitting costume of the bullfighter reveals more of the female form than conventional feminine

[257] Victorine Meurent, who posed for *Mlle V . . . in the Costume of an Espada*, was painted several times by Manet in the 1860s. Cachin, in *Manet 1832-1883*, 99, states that the model in *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* has frequently been identified as the mistress of the photographer Nadar.

attire.[258] Ironically, the costumes leave the impression that the contour-hugging aspect of the *espada's* trousers also sexualizes the Spanish male.

One could argue that Manet in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* is reworking this strategy of blatantly sexualizing the cross-dressed woman. The recurring description of the curvaceous female Gypsy form[259] dressed in colorful costume that draws attention to her body is clearly avoided by Manet. In his image, the Gypsy's blouse adumbrates only a hint of the form beneath. The brilliant orange of the blouse, highlighted by vertical strokes of lavender, yellow, black, violet and a central panel of white, is barely distinguishable from the palette of warm browns and copper Manet employed for her complexion. In *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*, Manet contrasted the figure's black bolero against her white skin to accentuate her pale, plump face (indeed, the soft and rounded contours of the young woman are also offset by the generously proportioned crimson round-backed couch). Instead, in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, Manet chose to let the body and the costume coalesce. The Gypsy's right arm, neck, and face are subsumed in a composition marked by a unified palette that works to undercut the illusion of a body, let alone a sexualized body, beneath the costume. Her waist is cinched tightly with a black belt, but her uncorseted torso does not yield the impression of a fulsome body and reinforces the flatness of her form.

Manet's decision to limit the visibility of the Gypsy's body certainly points to a way in which he resisted many of the literary and visual representations of the female Spanish Gypsy. But Manet's image is consistent with the accounts of the *Gitana* that emphasized the darkness of her skin color. Is Manet offering the Gypsy's complexion as a competing aesthetic to the modern

---

[258] On cross-dressing in nineteenth-century French fashion, see Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Berg, 1998), 164: "The sexual appeal of women in male attire was – and remains – very powerful, since such cross-dressing violates some of our culture's most strongly held taboos. Yet it does so in a spirit of make-believe. … [I]t appears that a great many women in the demimonde dressed in men's clothing to titillate their clientele."

[259] Even Grellmann, in *Die Zigeuner*, 8 conceded that "[e]very [Gypsy] is naturally [endowed] with agility, great suppleness" and that Gypsy children were "good looking, well shaped, lively" (48).

practice of making-up? Marilyn Brown asserts that Manet's Gypsy failed "to conform to European standards of fashion and maquillage."[260] While I agree with Brown's assessment, I also believe that Manet, by emphasizing the Gypsy's skin color through a palette of warm and dark hues, wanted to force the viewer to question whether that color – light or dark – is ever race or gender neutral.[261] Patches of velvety-brown pigment laid down in vertical strokes on the right side of the Gypsy's nose are juxtaposed against the corresponding, muted orange-red hue that articulates her lips and cheeks. A small irregular fragment of untouched canvas unexpectedly emerges on the bridge of her nose and the trace of smudged black pigment is visible under her lips and in the cleft of her chin. Evidence of a furrow line across her brow is amplified by the hint of shadow or uneven pigmentation that extends across her forehead. Conceived primarily as unblended fragments of saturated color, the Gypsy's face resists conventional standards of nineteenth-century feminine beauty.

Manet rendered the Gypsy's skin in a manner that diverged from the way in which he painted the model's face in the *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*. Manet reinforced the creamy whiteness and uniformity of the model's skin color in *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* with numerous other accents of white: her tights, trousers, and the broad sash around her waist. Manet also employed tighter and smoother brushwork in this image than in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* and sets off the recumbent figure's pale complexion with accents of pink, cerise, and black suggesting a face embellished and aestheticized by powder, rouge, lipstick, and eye make-up. Certainly, the seductive gaze and reclining pose distinguish this figure from Manet's

[260] Brown, "The Image of the Bohémien," 436.

[261] Historically, darker skin also implied a lower social status. In *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 96-97, T. J. Clark documents the critical response to Manet's *Olympia* in which the figure of Olympia was interpreted as a working class prostitute because she was perceived as dirty. Manet's disinterest in the modulation of color and his conspicuous outlining of the figure contributed to the impression that Olympia was unwashed.

impassive Gypsy, but the inversions on so many levels, particularly that of the palette, lead one to conclude that Manet was thinking about aspects of femininity, and perhaps a woman's sexual appeal, in relation to skin color. For those who read Gautier or Mérimée, or any of the other narratives on the Spanish woman and the Spanish Gypsy, there could be no mistake that the model on the crimson couch embodied the spirit of Spanish sexiness. This surrogate for Spanishness represented the forged appearance of nationality and ethnicity that would have made her acceptable to a French aesthetic that favored difference wrapped around the familiar.

Manet not only painted the Spanish type, but he also turned his attention to a subject who was Spanish and well-known: an acclaimed dancer with the Spanish ballet performing in Paris during the autumn of 1862. In painting the portrait Lola Meléa, known as Lola de Valence,[262] Manet seemed to relish challenging expectations. In *Lola de Valence,* Lola Meléa's complexion cannot be characterized as dark, but the mass of jet-black hair and her pronounced dark eyebrows and eyes, complemented by the Spanish costume of flaring skirt, mantilla, and fan, struck the right chord for contemporary viewers in terms of Spanishness. Yet, Manet resisted depicting Lola in the manner in which she was described by his friend Zacharie Astruc in the poem, "Lola," as a "body of amorous desires. … the Rose Satan of Andalusia. … a wild dragonfly, My sultana. … [whose]divine legs quiver."[263] Manet's static, vertical figure failed to convey a sense of the sexy, wild, and tempestuous nature that was embodied by the Spanish dancer and the Spanish Gypsy.

---

[262] Lola Meléa performed with the celebrated ballet troupe from the Royal Theater of Madrid directed by Mariano Camprubi at the Paris Hippodrome from August to November 1862. Manet painted Camprubi and the ballet company as well in 1862.

[263] "L'essaim des désirs amoureux. … Rose Satan d'Andalousie. … Comme une libellule folle, Ma sultane. … Tes divines jambes frémissent …" For the poem, "Lola," c. 1863, by Astruc, see Flescher, *Zacharie Astruc, Critic, Artist, and Japoniste*, 493-494. Astruc also wrote a serenade dedicated to Lola de Valence in 1863, the lyrics of which are essentially taken from his poem. Manet designed the frontispiece for the music sheet. Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 106, discusses Astruc's poem in relationship to the portrait. Lola Mélea was also the subject of Baudelaire's quatrain, "Lola de Valence," which accompanied Manet's portrait of the dancer when it was exhibited at Martinet's Gallery in 1863 and at Manet's retrospective in 1867. For the poem, see Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, trans. James McGowan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 310-311.

The portrait's reception is encapsulated in a caricature that appeared in 1867. Gilbert Randon's caricature of Manet's image, published in *Le Journal amusant*, 1867, included the inscription, "Neither man nor woman, what is this? … I ask myself."[264] The portrait of *Lola de Valence* was ridiculed because of the perceived ambiguous nature of the celebrated Spanish dancer's gender. After seeing the painting at Manet's retrospective in 1867, Randon transformed Lola Meléa into a grotesque form seemingly incapable of the lithe and energetic moves attributed to the *seguidilla* and other Spanish dances performed by the star of the Spanish ballet.[265] The well-proportioned legs of Manet's figure, complemented by her long, pale right arm, are overwhelmed by the stocky and exaggerated dimensions of Lola's torso in Randon's caricature. Randon reserved his severest derision for Lola's face. Her well-defined black eyebrows and aquiline nose, certainly not idealized in Manet's portrait, are supplanted with a low forehead and a bulbous appendage for a nose. Manet's strategy of cross-dress in *Young Woman Reclining in a Spanish Costume* and *Mlle V …* is the subject of parody in Randon's cartoon. Lola de Valence's femininity, despite the fact that she stands poised and graceful in the fourth position of ballet and is resplendent in a richly-colored dress, gauzy mantilla, jeweled bracelet, and pink ballet slippers, is nevertheless questioned by Randon. Years later, Manet's biographer Adolphe Tabarant reiterated the characterization of Lola's beauty as "rather mannish" in his description of the painting. To be sure, Manet retained Lola's dark eyes and hair that a *carte de visite* of 1862 confirms.[266] Could it have been the somber countenance that she affords the viewer in Manet's painting, as well as her rigid stance, which hardly translated into the image of the sultry and

---

[264] The quote accompanied Randon's caricature in *Le Journal amusant* (June 29, 1867). See Cachin, *Manet 1832-1883*, 148: "Ni homme, ni femme; mais qu'est-ce que ce peut être? … je me le demande."

[265] For a reproduction of Randon's caricature, see Cachin, *Manet 1832-1883*, 148.

[266] On Manet and his interest in photography, particularly images of the Spanish ballet, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 172-187. In her book, McCauley includes an 1862 *carte de visite* of Lola Meléa and her partner.

seductive Spanish dancer with which audiences were familiar, that provoked Randon's unflattering representation?

As with the Spanish Gypsy, the dark features of the Spanish dancer could be tolerated if they conformed to what María DeGuzmán characterizes as the "hyperfemininity" of Spanish women.[267] One need only read Gautier's reviews of Spanish dancer Manuela Perea, known as *La Nena*, who performed at the Théâtre du Gymnaste in 1854, to understand the discrepancy between Manet's *Lola de Valence* – and by extension the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* – and *La Nena*. Gautier writes:

> There then enters a *gitana* or a servant, twisting her hips and snapping her fingers. Castanets, the cicadas of the dance, start crackling and beating out their insidious rhythm, and the dancing is in full swing. Two or three wild hussies, suntanned and with eyes of fire and teeth gleaming like those of some carnivore, come from I know not where and perform a multitude of furious *cabrioles*. But never was *muchacha* or *gitana* more animated than Perea Nena the other evening, as she sent the flounces of her black skirt, embroidered with great bouquets of flowers, flying into the air.[268]

In another review, Gautier's conflation of the Andalusian dancer and Mérimée's *Carmen* is striking:

> Tightly wrapped in her *mantilla*, La Nena comes forward, rolling the flounces of her skirt with the purest Andalusian *meneo*, like a *cigarrera* of Seville on her way to join her smuggler sweet-heart at the Cristina or in the Barrio de Triana. Soon she flings the mantilla aside and appears in all the extravagant splendour of her fantastic costume. Her dress is dotted with scarlet flowers, her bodice covered with buttons, spangles, and silver trimmings like a torero's jacket. Above her sleeves the braiding is so thick as to form epaulettes that give off the sparkling, fiery light of Spanish sunshine.[269]

---

[267] María DeGuzmán, in *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*, 131, also theorizes that, paradoxically, Americans understood the dark, hybrid Spanish woman to be "aggressively masculine."

[268] Gautier, *La Presse* (July 11, 1854), quoted in Ivor Guest, "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," *Dance Chronicle* 10, no. 1 (1987): 81. For a comprehensive analysis of Gautier's dance criticism, see Guest, "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," 1-104.

[269] Gautier, *La Presse* (June 13, 1854), quoted in Guest, "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing," 76.

Manet's transcription of the Spanish female dancer resisted the ebullient tenor of Gautier's language and denied the viewer the promise of the performance. All of the elements are in place for the stereotype to be staged, but Manet's *Lola de Valence*, and I would also argue, the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, refused that strategy.

In choosing well-known and clichéd subject matter and motifs – the Spanish dancer, for example – Manet obviously invested them with ambiguity. He did not dismantle Lola Meléa's recognizability, but inventively foregrounded the contrivance of her appearance and representation. Charles Baudelaire understood the twinned discourses of artifice and naturalism – what he would characterize as "imagination" and modernity – in Manet's Spanish-themed work and that the demands of modernity need not preclude Spanish subject matter. Writing in 1862, Baudelaire extolled Manet's recent efforts:

> M. Manet is the painter of the *Guitarist* which produced a lively sensation at the last Salon. We will see at the next Salon many pictures by him marked by a strong Spanish flavor which leads [us] to believe that the genius of Spain has taken refuge in France. MM. Manet and Legros bring together a decided taste for reality, modern reality … this imagination [is] lively and abundant, sensitive and daring …[270]

In *Lola de Valence*, Manet chose to depict a non-modern figure and to represent her in a way that manifested the ambiguous and incongruous aspects of modern life. Lola is brilliantly costumed in a Spanish dancer's attire, and yet the viewer is left uncertain as to whether she will perform. Despite her well-proportioned form, dark features, and the fan and the mantilla of Spanish dress, she failed to evoke the alluring sensuality that for nineteenth-century French audiences remained coupled

---

[270] Charles Baudelaire, "Peintres et aquafortistes," 1862, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Marcel A. Ruff (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968), 543: "M. Manet est l'auteur du *Guitariste*, qui a produit une vive sensation au Salon dernier. On verra au prochain Salon plusieurs tableaux de lui empreints de la saveur espagnol la plus forte, et qui donnent à croire que le génie espagnol s'est réfugié en France. MM. Manet et Legros unissent à un goût décidé pour la réalité, la réalité moderne … cette imagination vive et ample, sensible, audacieuse …" Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 114-115, provides an insightful discussion of Manet's skill in reconciling romanticism and modernism in *Lola de Valence*. She also offers a compelling interpretation of Baudelaire's quatrain devoted to the dancer.

with the notion of the seductive Spanish female.[271] Manet's image of *Lola de Valence* – and the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* – challenged nineteenth-century absolutes constructed for the racialized stereotype; instead this image resonated with chords of relativism, irony, and, the "contingent."[272]

Despite Baudelaire's championing of Manet's work in 1862, Manet may have sensed that *Lola de Valence* and other paintings devoted to Gypsy subject matter were deficient. The reception of *Lola de Valence* and *Les Gitanos* did not elicit the same level of enthusiasm as did *The Spanish Singer*. Originally, *Lola de Valence* did not include any extraneous details or reference to the theater. Manet altered the painting in 1867 by adding the stage scenery to situate her in repose before or after a performance.[273] Manet's dissatisfaction with the painted canvas of *Les Gitanos* possibly explains his reluctance to exhibit the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*. *Les Gitanos*, its extant etching also known as *Les Gitanos,* and *Lola de Valence* were exhibited at Martinet's Gallery in 1863 and, later in 1867, at Manet's independent exhibition on the Avenue d'Alma. *Gypsy with a Cigarette* was not exhibited during the artist's life. Displeased with the painted version of *Les Gitanos*, Manet cut the canvas into three segments in 1867. Until recently, only the fragment known as the *Le buveur d'eau*, the youth drinking from a water pitcher, was thought to exist.

A comparison between the etching of *Les Gitanos* [Figure 21], particularly the seated *Gitana*, and the figure in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* proves helpful in understanding the degree to which the latter destabilized the Spanish Gypsy stereotype. Critic Paul de St. Victor, preferring the etching of *Les Gitanos* to its painted version, stated in 1863: "[Manet] was more successful with

---

[271] The notion that Manet's portrait of Lola did not elicit the seduction associated with the Spanish female is echoed in Cachin, *Manet 1832-1883*, 148. In her description of the portrait, Cachin states that Manet did not endow Lola's face with the "ardent subtlety of Mérimée's Carmen."

[272] Baudelaire, "Modernity," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, 13: "By 'modernity' I mean the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable."

[273] On Manet's alteration of the painting, see Cachin, *Manet 1832-1883*, 146.

the aquatint than with the canvas: his *Gitanos* have the breeding and bearing of their race. I like above all the one that tips a pitcher into his open mouth with his head thrown back: the *Bevidores* of Velasquez would admit him into their brotherhood."[274] Why did St. Victor elevate the etching's qualities over the painting? What could his conspicuous phrase, "breeding and bearing of their race," signify? Raced and stereotyped, Spanish Gypsies were expected to conform to the written and visual prototypes. I believe that the etching, unlike the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, conceded to the myth so entrenched in the French imagination. Although the figures in *Les Gitanos* are placed close to the picture plane, the open vista on the left side of the composition reveals a mountainous landscape that alludes to the rugged terrain of Spain. The reference to Spanish masters, specifically to Velazquez, is clearly made by the inclusion of the boy with the water pitcher. The male Gypsy with his guitar slung over his shoulder, whose demeanor seems a bit effete – could this be the "bearing" to which St. Victor refers – towers over the seated figure of the *Gitana*. She is, in contrast to the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, a Gypsy Madonna and closer in type to Doré's Gypsy mother/musician [Figure 30]. With her right shoulder exposed, the cause of which could be related to nursing the child she holds, and her bare legs, the figure is overtly sexualized. More importantly, her form is softened and rounded. There is scant evidence on which to build a reliable picture of the painted *Gitana* in *Les Gitanos*. Another caricature by Randon[275] and the general comments in the review by St. Victor comprise most of what is known, and one wonders if she resembled to any degree the figure in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*. But one could surmise that Manet may have tried to mitigate the strategy of "denaturing"[276] the female Gypsy that he employed in *Gypsy with a*

[274] Paul de St. Victor, from "Beaux-arts: Société des Aquafortistes," 1863, quoted in Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 97.

[275] Hanson, "Édouard Manet, 'Les Gitanos', and the Cut Canvas," 163, includes a reproduction of Randon's caricature which was published in *Le Journal amusant*, June 19, 1867.

[276] I borrow this term from Carol Armstrong who uses it effectively in her reading of *Lola de Valence* in *Manet Manette*, 115: "[S]he could stand for Manet's modern French painting as much as for her own racial 'essence,' which is simultaneously constructed and denatured by the painting of her."

Cigarette by overcompensating the image of the *Gitana* in the etching with what the smoking Gypsy seemed to lack in the painting: sensuality.

Manet's re-working of *Lola de Valence* in an etching and aquatint of 1863 [Figure 34] and the lithograph designed in 1863 for the frontispiece of Zacharie Astruc's serenade dedicated to Lola de Valence [Figure 35] also represented the exigency of smoothing over Lola's "mannish" facial features. Of course, the nature of these two mediums imposed limitations on Manet's formal decisions. While retaining much of the original composition – the placement of the figure, her gesture, and costume – Manet, nevertheless, suppressed the distinctive shape of her nose, barely articulated in the etching, and softened the contours of her brows, eyes, and lips. In both images, the imposing stature of the figure in the painted canvas is compromised. She looks away from the artist in the lithograph, while in the etching, she coyly addresses the viewer. This retreat to render a more feminine-looking, aesthetisized figure in the etching and lithograph of *Lola de Valence* (and the *Gitana* in the *Les Gitanos* etching) could be explained by the incongruity and complexity of Manet's working processes. He appropriates from, but rarely repeats himself. But I would also argue that Manet, in the shift from the "mannish" Lola and the "denatured" female Gypsy to the overtly "feminine" images of Lola and the *Gitana* in his prints, is participating in the racialist discourse that understood that attributes of gender can be ascribed to a culture or race.

At mid-century, Arthur de Gobineau in the *The Inequality of the Races (Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines)* declared the superiority of the white race in physical beauty, intelligence, and its identification with maleness. As I pointed out in the first chapter, Gobineau conceded that irreparable damage had been inflicted on the European (white) race and civilization through miscegenation. Viewing humanity as divided into competing and gendered

forces (the white masculine race opposed by the black and yellow feminine races), Gobineau pessimistically concluded that: "The female or feminized races occupy the greater part of the globe, and, in particular, the greater part of Europe. … The masses, in their infinite gradations from Gaul to Celtiberian, from Celtiberian to the nameless mixture of Italians and other Latin races, form a descending scale, so far as the chief powers (though not all the powers) of the male principle are concerned."[277] In this passage, Gobineau did not invoke the populations of Africa or Asia, but emphasized the degree to which the "mixture" of peoples in Europe had lowered the potential for civilizing impulses. "Feminized" races – and explicit in Gobineau's discourse is Spain – are driven by the "intensity of their sensations."[278] It is not difficult to see that the French, who through travel encountered Spain, Andalusia, and the Spanish Gypsy, recapitulated this ideology. Manet's transgression, which he may have understood, was probably less related to inscribing Lola Meléa and the model in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette* as somewhat "masculine" in their physical appearance and more about understating the sensuality that was understood to be expressly part of the Spanish and Gypsy nature. Although Mérimée's Carmen exhibited a "masculine" aggressiveness, she functioned primarily as the incarnation of feminine seduction.

Throughout the nineteenth century, images of Spain continued to conjure the feminine, the sensual, and the exotic.[279] The gender-coded language of traveler Édouard Magnien suffices to demonstrate the illusion of a landscape gendered as feminine. He writes, "[A]mong the bouquets of orange, lemon, pomegranate trees, and aloes, [Andalusia is] watered by a multitude

[277] Gobineau, *The Inequality of the Races*, 92-93.
[278] Ibid., 207.
[279] Colmeiro, in "Exorcising Exoticism: 'Carmen' and the Construction of Oriental Spain," 130-132, cites nineteenth-century writers Stendhal, Alfred Vaury, and Chateaubriand who contributed to the characterization of Spain as "exotically oriental" and "feminized."

of fountains and rivers, fertilized by an incomparable sun …"[280] More than a century later, *Madrileño* philosopher and intellectual elite Jose Ortega y Gasset expounded on the nature of the Andalusian in an obvious ploy to distinguish the north of Spain (signified by Madrid) from the south (the spectacle of Andalusia). He, too, maintained the stereotype of a feminized sub-culture within Spain, but also recognized that Andalusians exercised some agency by choosing to repeat the "part" that had been imposed on them. In *Invertebrate Spain*, he pronounced, "This propensity of Andalusians to play themselves and to imitate themselves reveals a surprising state of collective narcissism. … This is why it is so easy for the Andaluz to maintain himself unchanged within his ancient profile, faithful to his destiny. … When you see the frivolous and almost feminine bearing of the Andaluz, keep in mind the fact that his has been repeated, almost unchanged through many thousands of years …"[281]

In acknowledging a "role," faithfully played out by Andalusians, Ortega y Gasset articulates what one can argue is the premise for the originality and inversions in Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette*. So much in Manet's treatment of the female figure is tentative, as if the expected role – overt feminine sexuality, seduction, and exoticism – had not been sufficiently rehearsed. Freed from those restraints, Manet could negotiate between the stereotyped Gypsy and *his* additive, composite Gypsy, one that acknowledged racial difference vis-à-vis skin color but refused the fantasy of inscribing desired essentialist characteristics. Perhaps this explains why the figure of the Gypsy perplexed the sellers and collectors of Manet's painting who had no definitive title on which to base a definitive ethnic identity.

[280] Édouard Magnien, *Excursions en Espagne*, 1836-1838. Quoted in Hoffmann, *Romantique Espagne*, 72: "[P]armi les bosquets d'orangers, de citronniers, de grenadiers et d'aloès, qu'arrose une multitude de fontaines et de rivères, fertilisant un sol incomparable …"

[281] José Ortega y Gasset, *Invertebrate Spain*, trans. Mildred Adams (London: Allen and Unwin, 1937), 90-91.

Burning Desire

Despite its slender proportions, the cigarette is one of the most prominent elements in Manet's composition. Mere streaks of white paint, dragged across the canvas, angle out from the bronze-colored lips of the Gypsy. Along with the attenuated strokes of pinkish-white pigment on her blouse and the thickly applied whites that articulate the horse's muzzle behind the Gypsy, the cigarette works formally to heighten the vivid, warm palette employed for her skin color and her costume. Held firmly between her lips – in a gesture that transgresses the acceptable comportment of how a woman should smoke – the cigarette tapers to a narrow point that leaves no trail of smoke. The tranquil pose of Manet's Gypsy is enhanced by the act of smoking which was believed to induce relaxation.[282] In fact, the Gypsy is so at ease that she maintains the cigarette between her lips without benefit of her hand.

The cigarette signifies modernity and locates Manet's Gypsy in the present. While Europeans had imported tobacco from South America for more than two centuries for pipes and cigars, cigarettes were not produced for mass consumption until the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the first factories were located in Spain where cigarettes were manufactured for domestic as well as foreign markets. French soldiers, who had been introduced to cigarettes in Spain during the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the century and the Crimean War at mid-century, led the demand for this commodity when they returned to France from their campaigns.[283] During the nineteenth century one's class and gender determined what one (and where one) smoked. Until the availability of better quality tobacco and paper for

[282] Richard Klein, in *Cigarettes are Sublime* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 16, cites a mid-nineteenth-century French journal called, *Paris fumeur*, whose motto, "Qui fume prie" ("One who smokes, prays"), elicits the connection between the act of smoking and the quiet, transcendental act of praying. Théodore de Banville, in his chapter, "Cigarettes," in *L'ame de Paris; nouveaux souvenirs* (Paris: Charpentier, 1890), 238, describes the calming effect smoking had for Emperor Napoleon III (r. 1852-1870).

[283] On the demand for the cigarette in nineteenth-century France, see Ned Rival, *Tabac, miroir du temps* (Paris: Perrin, 1981), 170-181. According to Rival, 175, "Sous le second Empire tout Paris fume."

cigarettes after 1860, the cigar remained the choice of bourgeois men. Smoking cigarettes was primarily associated with the laboring classes and bohemian and artistic circles, but eventually it was adopted by the bourgeoisie.[284] Women, too, took up smoking, but it was considered indecorous for respectable women to smoke in public. Women who flaunted the rules of propriety by smoking conspicuously jeopardized their reputations.

For nineteenth-century smokers, the cigarette represented a newly-crafted commodity that initially was thought to give pleasure while heightening the senses. The consumption of the cigarette, which entailed touch, smell, and taste, afforded the smoker complete control over this possession: the smoker gathers golden sprigs of tobacco, wraps them in delicate white paper, and finally exhausts this diminutive and pliant object. Nineteenth-century French writer Spire Blondel, in his history of smoking, rhapsodized on the art of cigarette smoking as if it were some kind of lovemaking. In language usually reserved for a love poem, he addressed the cigarette as an object of spent desire: "Your life, which lasts a quarter of an hour, is passed entirely between two lips that love you; Supported between two fingers, sometimes you leave the perfumed memory of the golden trail of your hot breath."[285] The compulsive and irresistible nature of cigarette smoking is extolled by writer and poet Théodore de Banville in a chapter of his book, *L'ame de Paris*, devoted to cigarettes : "[The cigarette] creates a delicious, exquisite, voluptuous, cruel and sweet excitement; the more one yields to it, the more it renews itself, and it never sleeps,

[284] Patricia G. Berman, "Edvard Munch's *Self-Portrait with Cigarette*: Smoking and the Bohemian Persona," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December 1993): 627-646. Cigarette smoking among all classes became widespread following the mass production and distribution of cigarettes in the 1880s. The popularity of smoking reached an earlier height in France during the Second Empire with expanded production. Napoleon III's fondness for smoking cigarettes made them respectable among the upper classes. See Klein, *Cigarettes are Sublime*, 41.

[285] Spire Blondel, *Le tabac: le livre des fumeurs et des priseurs* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1891), 168: "Ton existence, qui dure un quart d'heure, se passe tout entière sur deux lèvres qui t'aiment; Tantôt soutenue entre deux doigts, tu y laisses, souvenir perfumé, les traces dorées de ta chaud haleine …"

and is never extinguished."[286] As the century progressed, cigarette smoking was deemed a toxic and decadent addiction that adversely affected the health of those who smoked. One critic of modern addictions warned in 1860 that because "the principal content of tobacco, nicotine, is one of the most vigorous poisons known, one cannot deny that excessive usage of this narcotic will not have dangers."[287]

Following its introduction in France, the cigarette was gendered feminine, with the suffix of *ette* added to the male noun *le cigare*. Writing at the end of the nineteenth century, Banville reiterated this association by describing the cigarette as "the most majestic, the most possessing, the most difficult, the most loving, and the most refined of mistresses."[288] Indeed, the act of cigarette smoking was not only perceived as a physical experience comparable to sexual gratification, but literary and visual images of women smoking – most of which were of women of the demi-monde – were also exploited to reinforce the allusions to sexual pleasure. In *The Painter of Modern Life*, 1863, describing the penchant for smoking by working class prostitutes, Baudelaire envisions these "poor slaves" at the bottom of the hierarchical scale of prostitution, assuming various strategies of display to attract patrons: "Sometimes, quite by chance, they achieve poses of a daring and nobility to enchant the most sensitive of sculptors. … [A]t other times they display themselves in hopeless attitudes of boredom, in bouts of tap-room apathy, almost masculine in their brazenness, killing time with cigarettes, orientally resigned …"[289] Baudelaire's disquisition on prostitutes and their smoking habits offered a corrective to the notion that smoking incites sexual desire, but the correlation between smoking and sexual drive remained firmly part of the cigarette's popular image.

---

[286] Théodore de Banville, *L'ame de Paris*, 234: "[La cigarette] crée une délicisuse, voluptueuse, cruelle et douce excitation qui plus on y cède et plus elle se renouvelle, et qui ne s'endort et ne s'éteint jamais."

[287] Alfred Maury, "Les Dégénérescences de l'èspece humaine," *Revue des deux mondes* 25 (January-February 1860): 75-101: "[L]e principe contenu dans le tabac, la nicotine, étant un des poisons les plus énergiques que l'on connaisse, on ne saurait nier que l'usage excessif de ce narcotique ne puisse avoir des dangers" (84).

[288] Banville, *L'ame de Paris*, 234: "[L]a Cigarette, qui est la plus impérieuse, la plus occupante, la plus exigeante, la plus amouresue, la plus raffinée des maîtresses."

[289] Charles Baudelaire, "Women and Prostitutes," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, 37.

The union of the prostitute, Baudelaire's symbol of modernity par excellence, with smoking would not have been lost on Manet. Indeed, Mérimée had already established a causal relationship between Carmen's passion for smoking and her sexual license. Although the cigarette was gendered feminine – and it was assumed that the male smoker controlled and possessed this female surrogate – as more women took up smoking, an inverted sexual hierarchy was evoked. Male and female smokers were aware that the shape of the cigarette resembled the phallus.[290] A woman was thus sexually empowered when she smoked a cigarette.[291] Richard Klein asserts that the sight of a woman smoking is comparable to a sexual performance. He writes, "That explains why, among women, smoking began with those who got paid for staging their sexuality: the actress, the Gypsy, the whore. Such a woman violates traditional roles by defiantly, actively giving herself pleasure instead of passively receiving it. Lighting a cigarette is a demonstration of mastery that violates the assumptions of feminine *pudeur* …"[292] In a woodblock of 1842, *La Lorette* [Figure 36], for Charles-Paul de Kock's *La grande ville***,** caricaturist Paul Gavarni captures the self-conscious pleasure the *lorette* takes from smoking.[293] The *lorette*, whose loose-fitting dressing gown falls off her shoulder, coquettishly holds her cigarette as she exhales curling wisps of smoke. Thus, the act of smoking was not only presumably enjoyable for the female smoker, but the manner in which the cigarette was held and touched also offered an erotic voyeuristic experience for the presumed male viewer.

---

[290] Berman, **"**Edvard Munch's *Self-Portrait with Cigarette*," 640.

[291] Dolores Mitchell, "The 'New Woman' as Prometheus: Women Artists Depict Women Smoking." *Woman's Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1999): 3-9. Mitchell discusses the accessibility and lower cost of cigarettes after 1875. Prostitutes and suffragettes alike were attracted to smoking and were aware that they were asserting independence. Also see Berman, **"**Edvard Munch's *Self-Portrait with Cigarette*," 637-638, for her documentation about women's smoking habits in France at mid-century and the popularity of cigarettes with respectable ladies as well as with courtesans.

[292] Klein, *Cigarettes are Sublime*, 117. It is also worth noting that the female Gypsy became so associated with cigarettes that one of the most popular French cigarettes was, and continues to be, called *Gitanes* (107).

[293] On the depiction of the *lorette* in Gavarni's work, see Therese Dolan, *Gavarni and the Critics* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981).

Of course, images of prostitutes smoking such as Gavarni's *lorette* signify class,[294] but women and smoking was also a raced topos as Baudelaire alluded in his essay, "Women and Prostitutes," when he characterized *lorettes* who smoked as "orientally resigned." The mystique of smoking was associated with the Orient and the exotic colonial territories from which tobacco was imported. Nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings abound with representations of reclining, languid women placed next to phallic hookahs. In particular, Orientalist painter Jean-Léon Gérôme exploited the relationship between sexuality and smoking pipes or cigarettes in his images of women in the harem and the enticing Egyptian dancers known as *almahs*.[295] The cigarette, whose popularity continued to increase among women as well as men in the nineteenth century, was later appropriated as an accoutrement of the fabricated "colonial" harem as evidenced in a French colonial postcard photograph of a North African woman, identified by Malek Alloula simply as *Moorish Woman* [Figure 37], c. 1900-1930.[296] Although the woman's clothing shields her body from the viewer, the photographer employs another strategy to emphasize her sexual availability. The staging of this woman as a seductive odalisque is emphasized by her reclining position, the separation of her legs, and the positioning of the right hand so that it brushes her skirt and aligns

[294] Émile Zola's actress/courtesan Nana is another example of the deviant, lower-class woman who smoked. See Zola's *Nana*, trans. Douglas Parmée (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 38. On the emergence of the lorette in Paris during the mid-nineteenth century, see Susan Hiner, *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 30-44.

[295] Lynne Thornton, in *Women as Portrayed in Orientalist Painting* (Paris: ACR Édition, 1985), 31-32, discusses women smoking pipes in the harem. On Gérôme's images of woman smoking, see Gerald M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, with a Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986).

[296] See Ivan Davidson Kalmar, "The *Houkah* in the Harem: On Smoking and Orientalist Art," in *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, ed. Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 218-229. Also see Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 74-79, for his insightful analysis of early twentieth-century French Algerian photo postcards of North African women smoking. Although these images post-date Manet's painting by several decades, I believe that the suppression of a seductive nature in Manet's image is pronounced when paired with the more provocative colonial postcard. Also see Kessler, *Sheer Presence*, 130-136, for her analysis of Manet's *Young Woman in Oriental Costume*, 1871, and Gérôme's *The Almah*, 1882, and the ways the hookah and the cigarette were employed to link smoking and sexuality in Orientalist images.

with her pubic area. Her languid attitude and inviting look are only enhanced by the cigarette she holds in her left hand.

If smoking is a seductive act that made women more desirable, it also paradoxically mitigated their desirability by endowing women with distinctly masculine traits: independence, self-gratification, and self-possession.[297] Widely believed to have aphrodisiac properties,[298] and associated with increased sexual appetite and satisfaction, the cigarette in clinical studies in the latter part of the nineteenth century was shown to produce the opposite effect. Sexual pleasure actually diminished with excessive tobacco usage.[299] The conspicuous lack of smoke from the unhandled and taut cigarette in Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette* signals the cigarette's failure to act as a pleasure-inducing stimulant. The cigarette does not appear to generate or reinforce reverie, and the Gypsy's far-off glance suggests a dispassionate air rather than the hint of eroticism and promiscuity associated with smoking.

The Gypsy, Modernity, and the Deconstruction of the Stereotype

Manet's work of the late 1850s and 1860s demonstrated a preoccupation with itinerant populations of modern Paris that included the ragpicker, the *chiffonnier*, the street singer, the

[297] Berman, in "Edvard *Munch's Self-Portrait with Cigarette*," 640, characterizes the mixed signals given by women smoking: "Paradoxically, the cigarette seems to have functioned … as an unstable signifier, its meanings recoded according to gender. The female smoker was defeminized by the cigarette while, at the same time, she was deeply sexualized. Her sexuality was, however, reconstituted according to 'masculine' modes of sexual conduct – the active, aggressive, and public display of the sexual self."

[298] Ibid., 638.

[299] Elizabeth K. Menon, "Decadent Addictions: Tobacco, Alcohol, Popular Imagery, and Café Culture in France," in *In Sickness and In Health: Disease as Metaphor in Art and Popular Wisdom*, ed. Laurinda S. Dixon and Gabriel P. Weiberg (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 101-124. Menon, 103, lists a number of diseases and reproductive disorders attributed to tobacco including miscarriages and birth defects. The author also documents the manufacture of cigarettes in France. By 1876, more than four hundred million cigarettes were produced per annum, revealing how widespread cigarette smoking had become.

beggar, and the Gypsy.[300] France's tenuous relationship with Gypsy populations migrating in large numbers to its southern provinces and the French capital after mid-century most assuredly shaped Manet's perception of this minority group.[301] Historian François de Vaux de Foletier notes that in nineteenth-century France, Gypsies endured greater discrimination than other marginalized populations and were the victims of an almost universal misconception about their habits and professions.[302] Shortly after their liberation in 1856 as land-tenured serfs, thousands of Eastern European Gypsies fled Moldavia and Wallachia (modern Romania) for France and other Western European countries. Waves of emigration to France followed, only to be temporarily halted by the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1871.[303] Before and after the effects of Baron Haussmann's rebuilding of Paris which began in 1853, groups of Gypsies – many of whom had been born in France – settled in the northern sector of Paris, known as the *La Petite Pologne*, in the Batignolles district where Manet had moved his studio in 1862. These were not colorful Andalusian Gypsies, but an underclass confined to the margins of Paris living in wagons or squalid encampments located in the Paris *banlieue* and outside the gates of the capital.[304] Despite their outsider status and poverty, photographs of the Batignolles Gypsies record likenesses of individuals wearing contemporary dress who seem assimilated into modern life. They survived taking on a number of jobs including that of the artist's model and street performer. Manet's image of a Batignolles

---

[300] Philip Nord, in "Manet and Radical Politics," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1989): 447-480, discusses Manet's republicanism, familiarity with radical politics, and the social and political themes that emerge in his body of work.

[301] Mérimée briefly referred to *Gitanos* crossing the French/Spanish border in the fourth chapter of the 1847 edition of *Carmen*: "A fair number of them live in Catalonia, often crossing over into France, where they can be seen at any of our southern fairs." See Mérimée, *Carmen and Other Stories*, 333. On the treatment of *Gitanos* crossing from Spain into France in the nineteenth century, see François de Vaux de Foletier, *Voyages et migrations des Tsiganes en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Ass. des études tsiganes, 1973), 27.

[302] Vaux de Foletier, *Les Bohémiens en France au 19e siècle*, 13.

[303] Ibid., 115-122.

[304] Ibid., 122-123. Gypsies living in Paris were primarily from Eastern Europe. The presence of *Gitanos*, traveling back and forth over the Pyrenees, seemed to be confined to the south of France where efforts to repatriate them are well-documented. Vaux de Foletier states that other than their darker skin color, there was little to distinguish them physically from the local populations. See pages 63-64. Émile Zola wrote of Gypsy camps outside the city gates of Paris in "Souvenirs," *Nouveaux contes à Ninon* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1893), 181-185.

Gypsy, Jean Lagrène, in *The Old Musician*, 1862 [Figure 38], only tacitly acknowledges his ethnicity.[305] His dark skin would not have necessarily distinguished him from others who were forced to endure the elements, yet the violin he holds referenced the well-known Hungarian Gypsy musicians who achieved acclaim in nineteenth-century Paris. But the painting leaves no doubt that Manet was attracted to those living on the fringe of modern society and dispossessed by Haussmann's redevelopment of the city.

Marilyn Brown concluded that Manet probably hired another Batignolles Gypsy to model for the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*.[306] While this remains speculation, I do believe that Manet's fidelity to the first-hand written and visual accounts regarding the skin color of the Gypsy lends credibility to Brown's claim. Manet's insistence on emphasizing the distinctive pigmentation of the model's complexion lends support to the assertion that Manet may have secured the employment of a Roma Gypsy for this composition. Regardless of the ethnicity of the model, Manet did not efface the uneven color and texture of her dark and patchy complexion. Her umber brown face and skin mark her as a racialized figure. How ironic it might have seemed to Manet to deny this "Gypsy" the fiery temperament and allure that most narratives resolutely upheld. Emphasizing the ambivalence of fixing the Gypsy's nature – she is not the "hyperfeminine" temptress, nor the bewitching fortune teller, nor the frenzied dancer – Manet draws attention to the gray areas, indeed to those hybrid zones, where stereotype and difference are acknowledged and allowed to collide. For Manet's Gypsy is familiar and unfamiliar at the same time and it is this strangeness that ruptures the

[305] See Marilyn Brown, "Manet's *Old Musician*: Portrait of a Gypsy and Naturalist Allegory," *Studies in the History of Art* 8 (1978): 77-87. Brown's research uncovered a number of details about Lagrène's life. Born in the department of the Bas-Rhin in 1799, he served for more than a decade in the French army, lived for a number of years in Spain, and worked as a laborer during Haussmann's demolition and rebuilding of Paris. After losing that employment due to an accident, he earned his living as an artist's model and organ grinder.

[306] Brown, "The Image of the Bohémien," 436.

stereotype's purpose which is to be, in Homi Bhabha's words, "[part] of a continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes."[307]

I do not want to suggest that Manet's work represents a conscious disavowal of racialist or stereotyped constructs. His preference for artifice may have been the overriding issue that guided the formal decisions he made for the composition. Although Manet's pictorial choices are fraught with reversals, contradictions, and experimentation, they are never neutral. He goes to lengths to put the *Gypsy* in a colorful costume, adding the comb, jewelry, and horses[308] – all traditional attributes of the Spanish Gypsy – but he effectively blocks off the background denying the Gypsy the traditional setting of an Andalusian landscape, posada, or village. Manet overtly alludes to Mérimée's seductive smoking *femme fatale* Carmen by placing a cigarette in the Gypsy's mouth, yet the painted cigarette, which works formally to draw attention to the darkened surface of her face, is bereft of any evidence of its intoxicating and seductive smoke. For the stereotype to succeed, the Gypsy needed to remain grounded in the imagined, exotic, and unchanging world that had been persuasively created by Gautier, Mérimée, Dehodencq, and other French writers and artists. When it becomes impossible to locate the Gypsy – is she in the artist's studio, the urban environment, or in nature, and Manet's painting leaves the viewer uncertain about that location – the Gypsy myth begins to break down.[309]

In his psychoanalytic exploration of the colonial stereotype, Homi Bhabha confronts the ambivalence that is central to the stereotype's construction: the stereotype "connotes rigidity and

---

[307] Bhabha, "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture*, 110.

[308] Brown, "The Image of the Bohémien," 438. Gypsies were notorious for horse thieving and training; the inclusion of the horses may also be an allusion to the Gypsy's "natural" life. Also see Lucassen, *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups*, 40-41.

[309] Charnon-Deutsch, *The Spanish Gypsy*, 71, argues that the most appealing images of Gypsies were those located "in foreign countries or at least in settings some distance from Paris, especially in Spain and the southern French provinces, or they are given temporally remote, exoticized, or legendary treatments detached from present-day urban life."

an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition."[310] No matter how many times nineteenth-century French writers and artists rehearsed, reconstituted, and replayed the female Spanish Gypsy stereotype, contradictions made their way into the Gypsy's image or representation that pointed out the constructed and conflicted nature of the stereotype. The female Spanish Gypsy is dark- *and* light-skinned, hideous *and* beautiful, promiscuous *and* chaste, seductive *and* repulsive, lazy *and* enterprising, feminine *and* masculine, Andalusian *and* Eastern – the whole of her being is the aggregate of some or all of these oppositional traits. Bhabha also argues that the "stereotype gives access to an 'identity' which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defense."[311] The longing for the Gypsy, or any other racialized stereotype, ultimately leads to frustration because, in facing the object of its fantasy, the colonizer – or in the case of the Gypsy, nineteenth-century French perpetuators of the Gypsy stereotype – must recognize that the attributes with which it has endowed the stereotype are insecure and fluid. According to Bhabha, the colonizer's desire for and attempts at representing the stereotyped Other are impeded by the stereotyped subject's stubborn resistance to being pinned down. This admission suspends the colonizer's notion of power over the stereotype. In writing about the stereotyping of the black male in Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, Bhabha elaborates on the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized: "It is the scenario of colonial fantasy which, in staging the ambivalence of desire, articulates the demand for the Negro which the Negro disrupts. For the stereotype is at once a substitute and a shadow."[312]

The shadow and its impermanent form to which Bhabha alludes in his discourse on colonial stereotypes is particularly relevant in reading Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette* and,

---

[310] Bhabha, "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture*, 94.
[311] Ibid., 107.
[312] Ibid., 117. Bhabha maintains that construction of the colonial stereotype allows for an exchange of power relations between the colonizer and the stereotyped Other. Indeed, he argues that the colonizer is marked by its fear of and fascination with the stereotype.

indeed, much of Manet's body of Spanish-themed work in 1862 which was preoccupied with the indeterminate and ambiguous nature of his subjects. In these images, Manet challenged prescribed notions of femininity and masculinity, romanticism and modernity, Spanish and Gypsy identity, marginality, alterity, and race. In the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, Manet disrupted, or unsettled at the very least, virtually all of these notions. Manet's subject, long associated with a romantic tradition in literature and the visual arts, is contextually removed from an exotic Spanish Gypsy land. The conflation of dark skin with sexual promiscuity, carefully constructed and fictionalized by Gautier, Mérimée, and Dumas, gave license to visual artists who, while minimizing or ignoring the dark skin color, thoroughly "Gypsified" and sexualized their figures to sustain the racial stereotype. With many of the external trappings and expected attributes of the female Spanish Gypsy removed, Manet disclosed the inherent "disorder" and incongruities of stereotyping that require the continuous remaking of the stereotype. Manet did not annul the stereotype of the female Spanish Gypsy. Rather, in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, he reinscribed a different set of characteristics – languidness and passivity – onto the female Spanish Gypsy that disrupted the certainty of established fixed traits and allowed for a stereotype that is, in Bhabha's words, a "complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation."[313]

Despite the stereotyped signs of Gypsiness that Manet retained in the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, these clichés are neither overdetermined nor were they thoroughly convincing. Fashioned from fragments and layers that could not coalesce into a whole, Manet's representation could not succeed as a persuasive oversimplification of the racialized female

[313] Bhabha, "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture*, 110. Also see Armstrong, *Manet Manette*, 104. In her discussion of Manet's preoccupation with Spanish themes and his penchant for dressing his models in Spanish costume in his work of the 1860s, Armstrong offers an explanation of Manet's decision to complicate the sexualized Spanish female stereotype in *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume*. She argues that "Manet equated Spanishness with masquerade and that which is supplementary – added, put on and taken off, rather than fixed, essential, and natural."

Spanish Gypsy.[314] It is tempting to believe that Manet's model was a member of one of the Gypsy families living in the Batignolles and that Manet could not resist the pretense of dressing up a Hungarian Roma Gypsy to play a Spanish Gypsy. In the act of substituting one racialized Other for another, Manet may have wished us to see how the strategies he used to fix the racial stereotype were tenuous, arbitrary, and, at times, perceptible.

[314] This is not to deny that Manet's biographers and dealers did not perceive a generic exoticism in this image.

Chapter Three
Beholding Beauty: The Black Female Body in Frédéric Bazille's Late Oeuvre

In late 1869 and through the spring of 1870, Frédéric Bazille employed a black female model to sit for *La Toilette* [Figure 1] and two versions of *Négresse aux pivoines* [Figures 39 and 40].[315] Writing to his parents in 1870, Bazille referred specifically to this model as "*une négresse superbe*" and "*ma négresse*."[316] The choice of the term *négresse* to describe this woman – whose identity remains unknown and whose origin may have been the French Antilles, West Africa, or France – implicates Bazille in the racialist and sexist semantics of late nineteenth-century scientific and political discourses. In the nomenclature of racial classification, the words *nègre/négresse* had been associated since the eighteenth century with the enslavement of the black man and woman.[317] Thus, to define a black woman as a *négresse* implied her subordinate status and servitude. The conscious choice of *négresse* rather than *noire* to refer to a black

[315] See Michel Schulman, *Frédéric Bazille: 1841-1870: catalogue raisonné, peintures, dessins, pastels, aquarelles: sa vie, son œuvre, sa correspondance* (Paris: Éditions de l'amateur, 1995), for the provenance of each work. *La Toilette* and one of the *Négresse aux pivoines* are in the collection of the Musée Fabre in Montpellier; the other representation of the *Négresse aux pivoines*, titled *Young Woman with Peonies*, is in the collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

[316] Frédéric Bazille, *Correspondance*, ed. Guy Barral and Didier Vatuone (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc, 1992), 187, Letter 133 to his mother, February, 1870: "J'ai eu de la chance, il y a trois femmes dans mon tableau et j'ai trouvé trois modèles charmants, dont une négresse superbe." Bazille, *Correspondance*, 188, Letter 134 to his father, March, 1870: "Je viens de finir ma journée, ma négresse sort de l'atelier …" For other transcriptions of Bazille's letters, see J. Patrice Marandel and François Daulte, *Frédéric Bazille and Early Impressionism*, Letters of Frédéric Bazille trans. Paula Prokopoff-Giannini (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1978); Dianne W. Pitman, *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press 1998); Gaston Poulain, *Bazille et ses amis* (Paris: La Renaissance du livre, 1932); and Michel Schulman, *Frédéric Bazille: 1841-1870*.

[317] Sue Peabody discusses the ambiguous nature of the word *nègre* in eighteenth-century dictionaries and idiom. Frequently the word was defined and employed in such a way that it conflated the black-skinned African with a slave. See Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 60-61. In the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, t. 16 (1860-1890, repr., Nîmes, Gard: C. Lacour, 1990), 903, Pierre Larousse offered this definition: "*Nègre* se dit proprement des noires originaires de l'Afrique, et il ajoute ordinairement à l'idée de couleur celle de la servitude, du travail forcé, de l'état presque sauvage …" ("*Nègre* is strictly spoken of blacks of African origin, and ordinarily associated with the idea of color are servitude, forced labor, [and] an almost savage state …") Also see Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), 289, for her observation that in nineteenth-century representations of the odalisque, this figure is always constructed as white, while attending her, "there is the negress, synonym for slave."

woman more than twenty years after slavery was abolished in French colonies would have continued to summon those conditions. Moreover, the term *négresse* would have evoked a phenotype that conjured dark pigmentation, certain physical features such as prognathism, and a particular shape of the nose and texture of the hair. Pierre Larousse, in his entry for "*Nègre*" in the early 1870s edition of the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, affirmed in unequivocal language the physical features of the black person: "The essential characteristics of the Negro race are, beyond skin color, a narrow brow and compressed head, a flattened crown [of the head], thick lips, protruding jaws, a short and flat nose, a facial angle [between] sixty degrees and seventy-five degrees … large genitals, elongated and pear-shaped breasts, wooly hair and a purplish membrane."[318]

Bazille's mitigating qualification of the model as "*superbe*" interrupts a strictly racist interpretation of his written characterization and, as I will argue, Bazille's depiction of this model avoids the reductive and abject manner in which other contemporary representations of the black woman were visually and textually constructed. Characterizations of the black female in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific and visual sources were conflicted and disparate: the black female was inscribed at once as a sexually rapacious seductress as well as being malformed and repugnant. Bazille's images of a woman of African descent unsettled expectations about the black female body and black femininity.[319] I will assert that Bazille

[318] Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, t. 16:903: "Les caractères essentiels de l'espèce *nègre* sont, en dehors de la coloration de la peau: un front étroit et comprimé aux tempes, le vertex aplati, les lèvres grosses, les maxillaires très-saillants, les nez court et aplati, l'angle facial de 60° à 75° … les organes génitaux volumineux, les mamelles allongées et pyriformes … les cheveux laineux et les muqueuses violacées."

[319] For secondary sources on the conflicted treatment of the black female body in nineteenth-century France, see, among others, Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 204-242; Elvire Jean-Jacques Maurouard, *Les beautés noires de Baudelaire* (Paris: Karthala, 2005); T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus*: *Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); and Deborah Willis and Carla Williams, *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002).

destabilized racialist and aesthetic hierarchies by endowing his "*négresse superbe*," his anonymous professional model, with an alluring quality – indeed with a type of beauty that, although not equivalent to nineteenth-century standards of idealized beauty, would have conjured an aesthetically pleasing body – as well as a specificity and individuality denied to most visual representations of the black female body in late nineteenth-century French visual culture. In this chapter, I explore the contentious notion in the nineteenth century that the black woman could embody beauty and personhood. The locus of Eurocentric feminine beauty was a white woman's skin and I investigate the manner in which Bazille depicts black skin – its color, corporeality, and texture – to suggest the ways the skin of a woman of African descent promotes an alternative definition of feminine beauty without compromising the racial identity of his sitter.

In my previous chapters, I analyzed the ways in which Degas and Manet rendered a woman's skin color and texture to undermine the fixity of racial identity and sexuality. Although Degas and Manet inscribed the color of a woman's skin with signs of racial difference in the *Portrait of Mme Camus* and *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, they suggested the tonality and surface of the skin through broadly painted passages which read foremost as pigment and conspicuous facture. In the *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, Manet rendered the bare skin of the model's arm through unmodulated brushstrokes of copper-colored pigment. He conjured shadow and light through smudged and curvilinear strokes of velvety brown, reddish-brown, and pink hues that are left unblended on the tawny-colored surface of the Gypsy's face. Degas also foregrounded the constructed nature of his image. He veiled the features of Mme Camus's face through scumbled layers of opaque chestnut-brown and olive-brown pigment making it difficult to discern the specificity of her likeness as well as her racial identity. And, as I have argued in my analysis of

Manet's image of the Gypsy, Manet's contemporaries could not agree on the racial or ethnic identity of the subject.

Rather than deploy a pictorial strategy that emphasizes racial ambiguity, Bazille leaves no doubt about the racial identity of the dark-skinned woman in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines*: she is of African descent. To conjure the materiality of the black (and the white) female body in these images, Bazille rendered his figures with illusionistic detail and employed brushwork that evokes the nuances and individuation of physiognomy and of skin color, particularly those of the black woman. Western pictorial tradition in the nineteenth century privileged the light-skinned body not only as the aesthetic ideal, but a light complexion also presented possibilities for depicting the variability of skin tones as well as the play of light and shadow on the skin's surface.[320] Painting dark or black skin was problematic. The black body seemed to afford few opportunities for enlivening the skin with tonal gradation or shadow because of the perceived opacity and value of the skin's pigmentation. In 1872, French science journalist Louis Figuier enumerated the disagreeable qualities inherent in black skin including its oily sheen and unpleasant odor, but his comments on its color underscored the presumed unvarying darkness of the black person's skin: "The colour of his skin takes away all charm from the Negro's countenance. What renders the European's face pleasing is that each of its features exhibits a particular shade. The cheeks, forehead, nose, and chin of the White have each a different tinge. On the contrary all is black on an African visage, even the eye-brows, as inky as the rest, are merged in the general colour; scarcely another shade is perceptible, except at the line

[320] Mechthild Fend, "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860," *Art History* 28, no. 3 (2005): 311. Fend discusses the interpretation of skin in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century science and visual culture as a "sensitive, communicative membrane." She goes on to state that a "development can be observed in French art theory where the term 'skin colour' for what has been painted with 'flesh tones' emerged only in the second half of the eighteenth century, and thus simultaneously with racial anthropology; both discourses became 'color conscious', as signalled by the superiority accorded white skin as the universal ideal and standard of beauty" (316).

where the lips join each other."[321] Thus, according to Figuier, the black person's skin color is circumscribed by its chromatic monotony while the white person's skin coloring and complexion constitute specificity, variety, as well as aesthetic appeal.

I will argue that in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines*, Bazille grants the black female body specificity and this affirmation of the black model's unique features is all the more remarkable in *La Toilette* because she is cast in the stereotypical role of the anonymous and subservient attendant juxtaposed to two light-skinned women. Representing racialized opposites was not new in visual and literary culture prior to 1870, but in *La Toilette*, the dark-skinned woman's presence does not serve solely as a device to reinforce racial opposition and incommensurability. I want to suggest that she can be read as a counterpart to the light-skinned women. Given a prominent position in the composition, she is rendered with a similar level of specificity with which Bazille endows the two light-skinned women. In fact, because the black woman is semi-nude and turned away from the viewer, her bare flesh becomes the site for exploring the singularity of her physical nature.

When Bazille posed a pale-skinned nude attended by a second light-skinned woman and a semi-nude black female, he alluded to the long-standing and popular tradition of the Orientalist subject of the odalisque at her bath or in the sequestered space of the harem. Indeed, one scholarly interpretation of *La Toilette* focuses on this context for the image.[322] I will address the correspondence between *La Toilette* and the Orientalist tradition later in the chapter. But here, briefly, I want to propose that Bazille's image is a more complex hierarchical arrangement of the

[321] Louis Figuier, *Les races humaines*, 1872, published in English translation as *The Human Race* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1872), 505. Figuier's views on the characteristics of black skin were widely held and, in this text, he reiterated what earlier naturalists – J.-J. Virey and Johann Friedrich Blumenbach for example – had expounded. I will return to their writings later in this chapter.

[322] See, for example, Kermit S. Champa, *Studies in Early Impressionism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973), 90; Marandel and Daulte, *Frédéric Bazille and Early Impressionism*, 19; and Pitman, *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s*, 165-170, for their discussion of Bazille's appropriation of Orientalist themes in *La Toilette.*

three female models than the overdetermined Orientalist images in which the light-skinned (or in some cases, the lightest-skinned) woman's central role and desirability as the odalisque eclipse the other female figures in the composition.[323] It would be possible to argue that the black woman in *La Toilette*, because she kneels and is turned from the viewer so that one sees primarily her back, is marginalized and confined to racial typology. Although, as I have begun to demonstrate, Bazille does not adhere strictly to a formulaic treatment of the black female body in *La Toilette*, he does not resist all pictorial contrivances that deprive the black body of individuality: he limits the view of the black model's face to only a shadowed profile and concentrates primarily on her well-formed nude back, a sign of a laboring body.[324] Yet, I would counter that argument by emphasizing that she is placed in the foreground; she is wearing the most colorful clothing; her body is convincingly modeled; her skin tone exhibits the greatest signs of vitality; and she is the object of the white woman's touch. Bazille's image of the black model is situated between two views of racial difference: the generalizing, essentialist view of race that invokes the fixity of physical characteristics, and, more importantly, one that I believe is weighted towards empiricism (knowledge based on experience and comparison)[325] and

---

[323] Griselda Pollock, in *Differencing the Canon*, 295, makes the case that "[t]he woman of Africa is not a protagonist in the painting, but simply the site of colour" in the academic Orientalist images of Bazille's contemporary, Jean-Léon Gérôme.

[324] Julien-Joseph Virey describes the African woman's proclivity for labor in *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2 (Paris: Crochard, 1824), 111. Figuier, in *The Human Race*, 510, also characterizes the African woman's body as a laboring body. Jennifer L. Morgan, in *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) traces the history of the black female slave in English colonies in the Caribbean and the American South through an examination of their labor and reproductive lives. Of their physical appearance and function, Morgan writes: "[B]lack women's monstrous bodies symbolized their sole utility – the ability to produce both crops and other laborers" (14). See Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 29-32, for a number of late eighteenth-century images of enslaved and free blacks that exploit the servile nature of their existence. Most of the figures are male, semi-nude, and kneeling. Also see Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 52-63, for nineteenth-century images of the supplicating black figure.

[325] Ann Laura Stoler, "Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth," in *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*, ed. Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 369-391, argues for the plurality of racisms. Empiricism was/is also used to quantify differences among human beings and, thus, is very much responsible for the invention and perpetuation of racial constructs.

observation of the living body. This reconciliation of the generic and the specific forms the basis of Bazille's aesthetic strategy for the construction the black female body.

Bazille's "Living" Figure

The black woman in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines* projects such specificity (all the more conspicuous in the *Négresse aux pivoines* images because her face is presented to the viewer) that one must consider Bazille's preoccupation with emphasizing the individuation of this model's features. The representation of this model constitutes a resistance to the anonymous and generic manner in which the black female body (and the black male body) was frequently depicted in nineteenth-century visual culture.[326] Bazille's empiricist tendency to differentiate the black female body in these images as physiologically distinct from the racial typology that governed much of the contemporary racialist thinking and image making may be traced to a number of disparate influences: his studies in medical school, his formal studio training, and his association with artists who were exploring racial difference and racialist hierarchies in their work.[327]

Bazille's medical school training certainly can be regarded as an unusual educational background for an aspiring artist. Bazille was enrolled for three years from 1859 until 1862 at the prestigious Faculté de Médecine in Montpellier before transferring to the Faculté de Médecine de

[326] Toni Morrison in *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 64, reminds us that the black presence has been forced historically to reside in the shadows of American literature. She writes: "And there is quite a lot of juice to be extracted from plummy reminiscences of 'individualism' and 'freedom' if the tree upon which such fruit hangs is a black population forced to serve as freedom's polar opposite: individualism is foregrounded … when its background is stereotypified, enforced dependency." See Grigsby, *Extremities*, 60-61, for her discussion of early nineteenth-century French images that depicted the black woman in a generalized manner, as well as the exceptions, including Marie-Guillemine Benoist's *Portrait of a Negress*, 1800. Also see Hugh Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 4, part 2 (Houston: Menil Foundation, 1976).

[327] In particular, I refer to the images by Eugène Delacroix that were in the Alfred Bruyas collection in Bazille's hometown of Montpellier as well as images by Bazille's colleagues in Paris: Auguste Renoir and Édouard Manet. Bazille also knew Gustave Courbet and Jean-Léon Gérôme in Paris.

Paris in 1862.[328] Bazille attended lectures in anatomy, physiology, hygiene, chemistry, and the natural sciences, and later began clinical instruction and practice in dissection and surgery. As important as these courses were in developing Bazille's knowledge of the human body, the pedagogical philosophy that guided the way in which courses were taught was equally authoritative. During his tenure at the Montpellier Faculté de Médecine, Bazille's courses were governed by a pedagogy that emphasized the observation of the living body and its variability.[329] In Paris, where his work was focused on anatomy and dissection, Bazille was introduced to the comparative and classificatory model of systematic examination of the human body.

After his arrival in Paris in 1862, Bazille reluctantly resumed his medical training while pursuing studies in drawing and painting. His introduction to conservative painter Charles Gleyre and decision to enter his atelier did not augur a predilection for innovative art practice in Bazille's work. Gleyre's subject matter and techniques were aligned with neo-classicism and exotic Romanticism and the studio was associated with his most well-known student, the academic painter and Orientalist Jean-Léon Gérôme.[330] Bazille's early days in Paris were effectively split between the rigors of courses in anatomy and surgery at the Faculté de Médecine

[328] For an account of the curriculum at the Faculté de Médecine in Montpellier during the nineteenth century, see François-Bernard Michel, *Frédéric Bazille: réflexions sur la peinture, la médecine, le paysage et le portrait, les origines de l'impressionnisme, la vraie nature de Claude Monet, la mélancolie et la société provinciale* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1992). Also see Thomas Neville Bonner, *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1750-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 164-165. According to the Bazille literature, Bazille gave up his medical studies sometime between 1864 and 1866. See Marandel and Daulte, *Frédéric Bazille and Early Impressionism*, 174, Letter 58, to his mother, June 8, 1866, in which Bazille announces that he continues to attend "all the necessary medical courses."

[329] I examine the theory of vitalism taught at the Montpellier Faculté de Médecine later in the chapter and how this doctrine might have encouraged Bazille to resist some of the racist stereotypes associated with racial science. It is also worth noting that nineteenth-century racial science should not be represented as categorically racist. We should not disregard the ambiguities and inconsistencies that surface in certain studies – for example, the recognition that the person of color could be endowed with physical beauty – as well as the fact that many racial scientists supported abolition. On the paradoxes in nineteenth-century French anthropology and racial science, see Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La République raciale: paradigme racial et idéologie républicaine, 1860-1930* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2006).

[330] For background on Bazille's training at Gleyre's studio, see Pitman, *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s*, 71-72, 203, 261, n. 5; and Michel Schulman, *Frédéric Bazille: 1841-1870*, 20-24.

and the constant rendering of male and female nudes in Gleyre's studio. Later, at the Faculté, Bazille would concentrate on preparing for exams in dissection and enroll in a private course in microscopy.[331] These closely related experiences demanding acute observation of the human form were central to his studies of the figure and would be foundational in his representation of the female body, particularly the black female in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines*. I am not arguing that Bazille must be considered as an anatomist par excellence, but rather that from these two modes of visual instruction – continuous copying and study of the human body – his eye was trained to see anatomical and morphological differences in the human form and that these differences manifest themselves in the images on which my study focuses.

The practice of transcription employed within the studio and medical school certainly provided Bazille with the technical acumen to render the human form with illusionistic skill. But Bazille was also familiar with the formal and pictorial innovations of several modernist artists. As a youth, Bazille had been introduced to iconic images by Eugène Delacroix and Gustave Courbet in the collection of fellow Montpellierian Alfred Bruyas whose *hôtel* was situated across from the Bazille's residence. Although Bruyas did not donate his collection to the Musée Fabre until 1868, Bazille and his family may have been invited to Bruyas's residence and there Bazille would have seen works by Courbet, Delacroix, as well as Camille Corot.[332] Even after his move to Paris, Bazille certainly had ample opportunities during his summer retreats in Montpellier to study closely some of the more important canvases in Bruyas's eclectic collection. Among those images whose influence can be detected in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines* are Delacroix's *Women of Algiers in their Apartment*, 1849 [Figure 41], and *Portrait d'Aspasie*,

[331] Bazille, *Correspondance*, Letters 37, 47, 52, 53, and 56, written to his father and mother between 1863 and 1864, expressed a growing dissatisfaction with his medical studies.

[332] For a detailed account of Bruyas's collection, see Sarah Lees, ed., *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!: The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2004).

1824 [Figure 42], and Courbet's *The Bathers*, 1853 [Figure 43]. Delacroix's canvases functioned for Bazille as prototypes for transforming the predictable treatment by academic painters of Orientalist subject matter – particularly the women of the harem and the exotic woman of color – into representations that seized upon racial difference as a vehicle for the exploration of color. The images by Courbet that Bazille saw in Paris and Montpellier such as *The Bathers* also demonstrated that the rendition of the carefully observed female body, one that eschews conventions and expectations, produced a compelling physical presence.

Other artists' works figured prominently in the conception of Bazille's late work. *La Toilette* has been described as a pastiche of elements assembled from diverse pictorial sources including Édouard Manet's *Olympia*, 1863 [Figure 44], Jean-Léon Gérôme's Orientalist images – of Gérôme's various representations of women in the imagined Turkish or Moorish baths, I examine in detail his *Moorish Bath*, dated 1870 [Figure 6] – and Auguste Renoir's *Odalisque*, 1870 [Figure 45].[333] Bazille's synthesis of these disparate sources, particularly the antithetical pictorial and thematic strategies of Manet's modernism and Gérôme's Orientalist work in the depiction of the white female nude and black female attendant, seems to indicate an ambivalent approach to these artists' work.[334] The luxuriously furnished room in which Bazille places his figures evokes the harem with its ornately patterned and vermilion-hued wall covering reminiscent of an Oriental carpet, but it can also be read as an excessive display of the modern taste for Orientalist decor in a brothel or a boudoir.[335] The semi-nude kneeling black woman,

[333] Bazille knew this image by Renoir very well. Between 1868 and 1870, they shared a studio on the rue de La Condamine. Renoir's *Odalisque* was submitted to and accepted by the 1870 Salon painting jury; Bazille's *La Toilette* was rejected. Lise Tréhot, Renoir's companion at the time, posed for both Renoir's *Odalisque* and Bazille's *La Toilette*.

[334] In addition to Champa, Pitman, and Marandel and Daulte who remark on the correspondence between Bazille's *La Toilette* and Manet's *Olympia* and Orientalist images, Pollock in *Differencing the Canon*, 295, discusses the "opposite directions [in Bazille's images]: one towards Gérôme and the other towards Manet."

[335] Marni R. Kessler in *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 127-129, discusses the taste for Orientalist fashion in clothing and the display of consumer goods in the

attired only in a coral-hued headscarf and multi-colored striped skirt, and the light-skinned nude conjured the slave attending the Orientalist odalisque.[336] Yet, juxtaposed with these two figures is the standing Parisienne dressed in an elegant nut brown and pale pinkish-brown striped gown whose presence and attire clearly reference modernity vis-à-vis the stylishness of her frock. I do not see *La Toilette* as an ill-staged interpretation of Manet's modernism or as an expression of antipathy toward Orientalism. Rather, Bazille's representation of a woman attended by servants at her toilette provided him with the thematic framework in which he could individuate his figures by physical disposition, body type, dress, and variation of skin coloring.

Yet, the decision to cast a black model along side two lighter-skinned women in the composition was not strictly an aesthetic consideration.[337] Nor was Bazille's choice to paint a multi-figure composition merely a demonstration of his ability to depict three women of different ethnic origins. Certainly, these formal concerns played a part in Bazille's pictorial choices for *La Toilette*. But the image of the black female (and male) in the second half of the nineteenth century summoned such a range of associations and subjective interpretations that it would have been difficult to disentangle them from the image's reception. It would have been unlikely for the artist, as well, to make pictorial decisions uninformed by the ethical, economic, political, or scientific debates on racial difference – who possessed physical, moral, and intellectual worth, as well as selfhood – that were

---

Parisian department store during the second half of the nineteenth century. Also see Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 294, on Orientalism "mimicked in brothel mock-ups and courtesans' workrooms."

[336] On the significance of the head wrap in African-American (and African-Caribbean) dress, see Helen Bradley Griebel, "New Raiments of Self: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994), 288-307. She states that the kerchief signified servility and slavery: "[T]he women taken in bondage during the slave trade may have been forced or induced to cover their heads as a gesture that marks them as subservient." Yet, she notes that "to the enslaved it was a helmet of courage that evoked an image of true homeland" (302).

[337] I differ with Pitman, in *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s*, 183, who makes the point that "European artists in the nineteenth century, unlike their American counterparts, could make use of black models without necessarily invoking the moral, social, and political controversies surrounding slavery." Also see Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 294. Pollock convincingly argues that the pairing of the pale, European and the African woman in nineteenth-century images of the harem served a double purpose: it acknowledged the subjection of Islamic and African cultures through colonization and slavery vis-à-vis the sequestering of women in the harem and it gratified the male viewer by alluding to sexual acts: licit and illicit, heterosexual and homosexual.

generated by the emerging colonial enterprise of the late Second Empire, encounters with the African-Caribbean or West or North African in the metropole, and developments in medicine and anthropology. Bazille's variation of an Orientalist theme that juxtaposes a pale-skinned woman with a servile black woman, despite the image's incongruity with the conventions of this pictorial trope, cannot be severed from the discourses of racial difference and European superiority that permeated cultural and scientific thought.[338] One should not dismiss the implications of a statement Bazille made during the winter of 1870 while he worked on *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines* in which he characterized his own labors as that of the black slave: "I work like a Negro," he wrote to his mother.[339]

Bazille's views on race were not addressed overtly in his correspondence. However, in one of his last letters to his family while training in Algeria for deployment in France against the Prussians, Bazille disclosed not only stereotypical views about the environment and people he encountered in North Africa, but he also expressed an appreciation of the appearance of some Algerians. In a letter dated August 30, 1870, he wrote from Philippeville, Algeria: "The countryside does not have a very African appearance, at least around the city. … The Arabs are all poor and grimy, however there would be some that would make very beautiful pictures." [340]

I would like to suggest that Bazille's views on race were not fixed and that the way in which he depicted both dark- and light-skinned women in *La Toilette* signals a detachment from

---

[338] On the confluence of these discourses, see, for example, Pascal Blanchard, Éric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris noir* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2001); Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Tyler Stovall and Georges van den Abbeele, eds., *French Civilization and Its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003); Essed and Goldberg, eds., *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*; and Elizabeth A. Williams, *The Physical and the Moral: Anthropology, Physiology, and Philosophical Medicine in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[339] Bazille, *Correspondance*, 187, Letter 133, February, 1870: "Je travaille comme un nègre."

[340] Ibid., 195, Letter 142: "Le pays n'a pas de physionomie bien africaine, du moins aux environs de la ville. … Les arabes sont tous pauvres et crasseux, cependant il y aurait de quoi faire de bien jolis tableaux."

entrenched racial hierarchies and canons of beauty associated with whiteness. Moreover, Bazille's depiction of the black woman in *La Toilette* and two *Négresse aux pivoines* asserts her status as an individual rather than as a type. Bazille's articulation of the black model's skin color – the nuanced assemblage of a variety of hues employed to render her skin – is central to his individuated representation of the black female body. It is our skin, anthropologist Nina Jablonski reminds us, that defines our individuality, invests us with our "humanity," and serves as the synecdoche for our personhood.[341] To accept Louis Figuier's description of the Negro's skin color as monochromatic and monotonous would have disallowed the consideration of such individuation.[342] Yet, in *La Toilette* Bazille represents a black woman whose skin exhibits a range of hues and values and whose face is cast in shadow, making it darker in tonality than the skin of her bare back. Paradoxically Bazille juxtaposes the black woman with a white female nude whose skin tone seems so chalky (indeed, one could characterize it as lifeless) that it lacks the valorized qualities frequently attributed to the white woman's complexion: translucency and transparency that allowed for subtle variations in its coloring.[343] I will examine later some of the theories espoused by anatomists on the differences between white and black skin, but here I want to emphasize that Bazille's treatment of the black model was predicated on rendering her body as "living" and discrete. Furthermore, her individuation in *La Toilette* upset the traditional

---

[341] Nina G. Jablonski, *Skin: A Natural History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 3. Also see Claudia Benthien, *Skin: On the Cultural Border Between Self and the World*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 17-36, on the numerous metaphors for human skin.

[342] Figuier, *The Human Race*, 505-508. It was also believed that the unvarying dark coloration of the black person's skin color limited his/her ability to communicate feelings because emotions could not be registered on such an opaque visage. See Grigsby, *Extremities*, 29 and 52, for her discussion of eighteenth-century racist views that asserted the inability of the black person to convey emotions.

[343] Charles Blanc, in *Grammaire des arts du dessin: architecture, sculpture, peinture* (Paris: Renouard, 1867), 408, wrote: "Le corps de la femme, même quand il est nu, reste ainsi voilé sous une peau transparente …" ("A woman's body, even when it is nude, remains in this way veiled under a transparent skin …") Also see Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, *Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie* (Paris: Béchet, 1829), 310-311, for his description of white skin and its ability to exhibit subtle differences of coloration. Mechthild Fend, "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860," presents an excellent analysis of the ways in which skin was theorized and depicted in French visual culture during the first half of the nineteenth century.

hierarchical arrangement of white and black bodies in which the white protagonist was meant to be the focus of the composition. In fact one could argue that in *La Toilette*, the black woman's presence – its compelling corporeality – upstages that of the white female nude.

In an 1866 letter to his parents, Bazille articulated his commitment to subjects of modern life: "I have chosen the modern era because it is that which I understand best [and] that I find the most alive for living people …"[344] The unusual phrase, "most alive for living people," which I believe is more than just an idiomatic expression, is noteworthy because it indicates Bazille's engagement with modern subjects, but it also expresses his desire to endow the human form with a sense of life.[345] I do not argue here, nor does Bazille's work support the notion, that the artist viewed this quality of "alive-ness" as a facile display of animation, emotion, or *tour de force* illusionism. What I want to suggest is that a perception of vitality in Bazille's depiction of the human form originated in the concepts of "vitalism" and "variability" and the primacy of clinical observation, prominent aspects of his medical training in Montpellier and Paris. The theory and practice of these concepts constituted a framework in which to observe and render the human body as individually distinct, an approach which casts Bazille's *La Toilette* as profoundly out of step with the work of his academic rivals such as Gérôme for whom the generic assumed preeminence in the articulation of the body. Yet, *La Toilette* also distances Bazille from his modernist colleagues, particularly Manet, whose emphasis on the materiality of the medium and the surface of the canvas and whose penchant for flatness often disrupted the primacy of illusion

[344] Quoted in Poulain, *Bazille et ses amis*, 63, letter to his parents, March, 1866: "J'ai choisi l'époque moderne, parce que c'est elle que je comprends le mieux, que je trouve la plus vivante pour des gens vivant …"

[345] Émile Zola in his review of Bazille's painting *La Réunion de famille*, which was exhibited in the Salon of 1867, observed something similar in the depiction of the figures. In "Mon Salon," *L'Événement illustré* (May 24, 1868), he wrote that the image "témoigne d'un vif amour de la vérité. … Chaque physionomie est étudiée avec un soin extrême, chaque figure a l'allure qui lui est propre." ("[It] demonstrates an intense love for truth. … Each face is studied with extreme care, each figure has an allure appropriate to it.") See Zola, *Ecrits sur l'art*, ed. Jean-Pierre Leduc-Adine (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 210.

in image making. Bazille wanted to realize the physicality of the body and its materiality as flesh.[346]

The Physician's "Gaze"

As I have stated, Bazille's training as a medical student at the Faculté de Médecine in Montpellier and Paris required proficiency in natural history, hygiene, physiology, anatomy, and practical experience in the clinical hospital.[347] Briefly, I want to explore the preeminent role of comparative anatomy in shaping racial science as well as its importance in nineteenth-century medical practice and how this pedagogical system influenced Bazille's understanding of physiological analogy and difference. Integral to the practice of comparative anatomy is the creation of a classificatory system grounded in the differentiation and hierarchization of types. The comparative approach to the examination of the body was based upon the typologizing instituted by French anatomist Georges Cuvier, as well as by German physiologist and anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and French naturalist Julien-Joseph Virey, all of whom were engaged in establishing racial taxonomies.

Virey's well-known (and proto-polygenist) illustration of the racial hierarchy of the (two) human species situated the white male at the apex of his classification scheme followed by the black male and the orangutan (a not so subtle reminder of the correspondence between the black race and simians).[348] Less racist, but subjective nevertheless in its appreciation for the European physiognomy, Blumenbach's study of skulls led him to conclude that the cranium of the

[346] Michel, in *Frédéric Bazille* 23, imagines that Bazille sought out experiences at the Montpellier medical school in which he could explore "form and volume, the soft tissue of flesh, and the texture of the skin." ("des formes et volumes, de la pulpe des chairs et du grain de la peau.")

[347] Bonner, *Becoming a Physician*, 243.

[348] For the image of his racial hierarchy, see Julien-Joseph Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2 (Paris: Crochard, 1824), 42.

Caucasian – Blumenbach chose the skull of a woman from Georgia, in the Caucasus region of southeastern Europe, as his ideal – was the most beautiful in comparison with those of the four other racial types he identified: Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay.[349] During Bazille's tenure at the Paris Faculté de Médecine, Paul Broca, professor of clinical surgery, began his analyses of hundreds of brains to ascertain the relationship between size (later, he would expand his study to include cranial capacity) and the innate intellectual ability of Europeans and non-white races. After measuring and weighing his extensive collection of brains, he asserted that the European male brain was larger and weighed more than those of non-white males and females and therefore confirmed the European male's intellectual superiority. As Stephen Jay Gould has astutely observed, "Broca's cardinal bias lay in his assumption that human races could be ranked in a linear scale of mental worth. … It did not occur to him that human variation might be ramified and random, rather than linear and hierarchical."[350] Despite deviations and anomalies in its results, the comparativist system and the consequent classification of human types in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medicine strengthened support for what historian Elizabeth A. Williams characterizes as "patterns and regularities amid such diversity" within the population based on sex and age, and, increasingly in the nineteenth century, on race.[351]

---

[349] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind*. *De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* in Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, K. F. H. Marx, P. Flourens, Rudolph Wagner, and John Hunter, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, trans. Thomas Bendyshe (London: Published for the Anthropological Society, by Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), 268-276.

[350] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1996), 118. Broca's methods and *à priori* position in his comparative study of brains is the subject of Gould's chapter, "Measuring Heads," 105-141.

[351] Williams, *The Physical and the Moral: Anthropology, Physiology, and Philosophical Medicine in France, 1750-1850*, 56. In this quote, Williams is describing the Montpellier vitalist attitude towards typologies, but one can make the argument that this view was held by comparative anatomists at the Paris Faculté de Médecine as well. For her excellent account of the integration of racial theory into medical research and training, see pages 9, 208-213, and 258-272. Racial theorists within the medical and science establishment debated, among other things, the origin(s) and fixity of racial types. By mid-century those debates had generated division over the validity of monogenism, polygenism, and hereditarianism (the theory that intelligence was determined by biology rather than by education or cultural influences) to explain physiological and behavioral differences. Among those responsible for the dissemination of racialist theory within the Paris medical faculty were anatomists Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy (1797-1856) and Pierre-Paul Broc (1782-1848), and surgeon Paul Broca (1824-1880). Broca and most of his followers were

However, as Williams points out, this was the paradox of medicine in nineteenth-century France. At the same time that the medical establishment, particularly those who practiced anthropological medicine,[352] sought to identify, measure, and classify stable physical traits among types, it also advocated theory such as the doctrine of vitalism in Montpellier. Vitalist theory – as well as advances in laboratory and clinical practice, particularly the use of the microscope and opportunities for dissection and pathological investigations in Paris – undermined the credibility of assigning fixed physical attributes to types. Thus, the medical establishment had to resolve its reliance on typology with unambiguous evidence that the characteristics of physiological and, indeed, racial groups could not be reduced to generalized classifications.

The Faculté de Médecine in Montpellier, where Bazille first received his training, had subscribed since the eighteenth century to a doctrine called "vitalism," characterized by Williams as the "acceptance, indeed valorization, of the variability of 'life phenomena.'"[353] One of the key tenets of vitalism held that the body was not merely a materialist organism but developed according to a number of unique and inconstant conditions: sex, age, race, diet, environment, bodily humors, and the body's inherent predilection towards sensibility (the individual's

---

convinced that the physical and intellectual differences among the races were too extreme to signify a unity of humankind. Therefore, they argued in favor of the theory of polygenism. On the arguments for polygenism and monogenism, see Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La République raciale: paradigme racial et idéologie républicaine, 1860-1930*, 34-43; and George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1968), 42-68.

[352] Broca founded the Société d'anthropologie de Paris in 1859. The Société's quarters were initially located at the École pratique of the Paris Faculté. See Williams, *The Physical and the Moral*, 256.

[353] Williams, *The Physical and the Moral*, 53. Williams's text has greatly informed my understanding not only of the contributions of the Montpellier Faculté de Médecine to the development of modern medical practice in France, but also the ways in which its theories of living and vital organisms may have influenced Bazille's perception of the human body. However, the progressive, materialist methodology favored by the Paris Faculté de Médecine exercised greater influence on medical training after 1850 and would, in Williams's view, emerge as the "winner" in the battle for control of medical practice and training.

response to internal and external stimulation).[354] Vitalism assumed the conjunction of the moral and physical nature of human beings, and through exacting observation of the living body (in contradistinction to the governing pedagogy at the Paris Faculté de Médecine which invested much more of its medical capital in dissection), it advocated holism in medical culture and science.[355] Montpellierian physician Jacques Lordat championed the Faculté's pedagogy against its critics in Paris by stating that medical training at Montpellier dedicated itself to "l'homme unitaire, l'homme tout entier."[356]

It is not surprising that the advance of a materialist, anti-metaphysical medical discipline at the Paris Faculté would dispute the principles of medical theory and practice at Montpellier's medical school. Research, pathological anatomy, specialization, and the clinic were the contributions of the Paris Faculté to modern biomedical science and medical culture in the nineteenth century.[357] The French medical clinic, where the poor and working classes were treated (the subject of historian and philosopher Michel Foucault's history of modern medicine, *The Birth of the Clinic*) enabled physicians to study the human body through examination, vivisection, and dissection. Foucault makes an extraordinary and ironic assertion about the ascendancy of dissection in nineteenth-century medicine and its consequences: death and dissection endowed greater individuality to the body than the body enjoyed during life. Dissection transformed the lifeless body into discrete fragments of diseased tissue that once

---

[354] Williams, *The Physical and the Moral*, 52. Williams distills the concept of sensibility as established by Montpellierian Paul-Joseph Barthez (1734–1806): "With its high degree of variability, sensibility was the paradigmatic vital phenomenon. Its workings could not be attributed to clear-cut mechanical operations nor could its intensity be predicted, individual to individual, because it was influenced by apparently infinite internal and external circumstances." Montpellier's medical school theories were also informed by Étienne Bonnot de Condillac's *Traité des sensations*, 1754, which asserted the primacy of sensory experience, of which touch was the most essential. See *Condillac's Treatise on the Sensations*, trans. Margaret Geraldine Spooner Carr (London: Favil Press, 1930).

[355] Ibid., 22-23.

[356] Quoted in Ibid., 199: "the complete man, the whole man."

[357] On French medical practice in the nineteenth century, see Ann La Berge and Mordechai Feingold, eds., *French Medical Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994).

eluded the "gaze" and "mastery" of the physician but now could be studied and examined as individually distinct specimens. Foucault's modern, rational physician employs his perceptive skills on the body in a manner similar to that of an artist, seeing that which has not been perceptible before and marveling at the uniqueness of the object held in his gaze. Here, Foucault describes the revelation experienced by the physician in pictorial terms:

> Medical rationality plunges into the marvelous density of perception, offering the grain of things as the first face of truth, with their colours, their spots, their hardness, their adherence. … The eye becomes the depositary and source of clarity; it has the power to bring a truth to light that it receives only to the extent that it has brought it to light; as it opens, the eye first opens the truth: a flexion that marks the transition from the world of classical clarity – from the 'enlightenment' – to the nineteenth century.[358]
>
> The gaze is no longer reductive, it is, rather, that which establishes the individual in his irreducible quality. And thus it becomes possible to organize a rational language around it. The *object* of discourse may equally well be a *subject*, without the figures of objectivity being in any way altered.[359]

Foucault goes on to argue that "[t]he old Aristotelian law, which prohibited the application of scientific discourse to the individual, was lifted when, in language, death found the locus of its concept: space then opened up to the gaze the differentiated form of the individual."[360]

To confer upon the study of dead tissue in a dissection lab a substantive role in the shaping of Bazille's pictorial decisions is arguably a bit much to contend. But my point is that both the clinic-based medical training in Paris with its emphasis on dissection, as well as the approach of vitalism in Montpellier, relied on and elevated the primacy of the physician's vision and the "singularity" (I use Williams's word) of the object of the physician's gaze. Bazille's ambition to explore the physiognomic differences of his three models in *La Toilette* can be understood as a way of reconciling the dual modes of his medical training: the paradigm of

---

[358] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), xiii

[359] Ibid., xiv.

[360] Ibid., 170.

variability advocated by the Montpellier Faculté and the scientific materialism of the Paris medical school. I want to suggest that Bazille's articulation of racial difference in his construction of the black woman in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines* is based on his understanding of the doctrine of vitalism that supported the diversity of physiology and on the discerning perception of the physician to see the intricacies of the human body in order to render it fully individuated.

Bazille's Models and *Une Négresse Superbe*

"I have had luck; there are three women in my painting and I have found three charming models of which one [is] a superb *négresse*. Their only fault is the great expense," Bazille wrote to his mother in 1870.[361] Finding and being able to afford suitable models proved frustrating for Bazille after he left Gleyre's studio in late 1864. We know that although living on a generous allowance from his father, Bazille had difficulty compensating models for his figural images. He dispatched several entreaties to his parents for additional sums to cover the expenses associated with hiring professional models. Itemizing the expenditures for his art production in a letter to his mother, Bazille informed her that "a model for two weeks [costs] 60 francs."[362] Two years later, in 1868, this time to his father, he lamented the high cost of models.[363] In early 1869, Bazille requested a healthy sum to facilitate finishing one of his projects: "I continue to pose [models] almost every day, it is ruining me. I would like a good hundred francs as a subsidy to reach the end of the month."[364]

[361] Bazille, *Correspondance*, 187, Letter 133 to his mother, February, 1870: "J'ai eu de la chance, il y a trois femmes dans mon tableau et j'ai trouvé trois modèles charmants, dont une négresse superbe. Ils n'ont que le défaut de coûter fort cher."

[362] Ibid., 120, Letter 76, to his mother, January, 1866: "Ma chère mère tout cela ne se fait pas sans énormément d'argent … modèle pendant deux semaines 60 francs …"

[363] Ibid., 162, Letter 109, to his father, December, 1868: "Les modèles sont bien chers, malheursement."

[364] Ibid., 168, Letter 115, to his mother, February, 1869: "[J]e continue à faire poser presque tous les jours, cela me ruine. Je voudrais bien une centaine de francs de subsides pour arriver au bout du mois."

Certainly, he utilized friends and family for many of his compositions as did most of his colleagues and he knew the demands placed on models when he posed for Claude Monet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1865-1866, and Henri Fantin-Latour's homage to Manet. But only a professional model would allow him to concentrate upon the form and flesh of the female (or the male) nude.[365] Only the *modèle de profession* was at the artist's disposal for lengthy sittings which permitted the artist to study in a sustained way the model's disposition and form.[366]

Of the three women who posed for *La Toilette*, only one's name is known. The model for the Parisienne who stands on the right side of the composition was Lise Tréhot, one of Renoir's models and his companion.[367] Sharing the same studio on the rue de La Condamine until the spring of 1870, Bazille and Renoir were exploring similar themes of the female nude and the exoticized, ethnic female. Indeed, Tréhot posed for Renoir's successful 1870 Salon submission, *Odalisque* [Figure 45]. In Renoir's image, her pale skin is defined with just enough yellow and cream-colored pigment to distinguish it from the pearly white pillow cover against which she rests and the gauzy fabric that covers her torso. Along with her dark hair and eyes, the color of her skin suggests or hints at an ethnicity nominally different from that of northern Europe.[368]

The figure of Lise was not originally envisioned for inclusion in *La Toilette*. From late 1869 until sometime in early 1870, Bazille planned a composition with only two models: a dark-skinned and a light-skinned woman. The extant study in charcoal [Figure 46] and the image of the *ebauche* – a preliminary study of *La Toilette* that Bazille included as an image within an

---

[365] Bazille's *Fisherman with a Net*, 1868, is an example of the artist's efforts to transform the idealized male nude into a modern figure placed within a contemporary setting.

[366] On the role of the *modèle de profession* in the 1860s, see Susan Waller, "Realist Quandaries: Posing Professional and Proprietary Models in the 1860s," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (2007): 239-265. For a more detailed study of professional and amateur models, also see Waller, *The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830-1870* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006).

[367] Schulman, *Frédéric Bazille: 1841-1870*, 210, and Pitman, *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s*, 257, n. 76, have identified the figure on the right in *La Toilette* as Lise Tréhot. Pitman uses the spelling Tréhaut.

[368] For an insightful analysis of Renoir's *Odalisque* and the artist's strategy of exploiting Lise Tréhot's olive complexion to signify her as both the ethnic Other and the familiar European, see Kessler, *Sheer Presence*, 139-140.

image in the painting of his studio, *L'Atelier de la rue de La Condamine*, 1870 [Figure 47] – indicate Bazille's interest in depicting the black and white female body as coloristic opposites. These preliminary studies not only demonstrate Bazille's early musing on the juxtaposition of women of different ethnicities, but also his initial dichotomous thinking about racial difference.

In the *ebauche* in *L'Atelier de la rue de La Condamine*, Bazille employed a color and tonal scheme that renders the color of each woman's skin almost uniform. Here, the pearly-pink hue applied to suggest the white woman's skin and the charcoal pigment, overlaid with faint streaks of yellow-orange, used to render the black woman's skin register as an opposition of matte lightness against opaque darkness. The models' images are deprived of any distinctness: the white model's face is devoid of any specificity and the black model's profile is left unarticulated. Bazille avoided the nuanced variations of skin coloration that I see realized in the finished state of the *La Toilette* and, instead, relied on a Manichean position that upholds the oppositional nature of "white" and "black." One wonders why Bazille sought out this particular black female model for *La Toilette* and continued to employ her during the spring of 1870 for two other works if the depiction of her was to be limited to facile generalizations and a reductivist pictorial formula.[369]

In the preliminary drawing, below the borders of the graph that frames the black and white women, Bazille sketched the third woman (Lise Tréhot) who would be included in the final canvas. Her presence would disrupt the chromatic and symmetrical spatial relationship between the black and white women and it is clear from the *ebauche* in *L'Atelier de la rue de La Condamine* that

[369] The subject of an oil painting by Thomas Eakins, *Female Model*, c. 1867-1869, completed while Eakins studied with Gérôme at the École des Beaux-Arts in the late 1860s, bears a pronounced resemblance to the black woman in Bazille's *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines*, further reinforcing the professional status of Bazille's model. Eakins's depiction of the woman follows more closely pictorial conventions in rendering a black woman. I shall return to the difference between Eakins's and Bazille's depictions of this model later in the chapter. For more on Eakins's fascination with Orientalism and the role of *Female Model* in his oeuvre, see Alan C. Braddock, *Thomas Eakins and the Cultures of Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 72-78.

modifications to the composition would be needed to accommodate the third woman. Furthermore, the inclusion of the third woman could have altered the earlier design by imposing a hierarchical configuration that privileged the figure of the white-skinned woman. With the seated nude now occupying the center position, the two attendants – the kneeling black woman who is given the lowest position of the three women in the composition and Lise Tréhot who leans toward the seated nude – could have been relegated to subordinate roles. I have already argued that the black woman's striking presence is not diminished by her juxtaposition with the seated nude; in fact, I believe the reverse is the case. The physicality of her convincingly modeled back and arms and the warm hues of her skin color juxtaposed against the pale flesh of the nude secure the black woman's prominence within the composition. The eye is also drawn to the figure of Lise, particularly to the detail Bazille invested in the articulation of her face and costume: her rouged cheek, fashionable low-cut dress, and the floral-patterned and striped dressing gown she holds. The rouged complexion of Lise, the sallow tinge of her neck, and her reddened hands represent Bazille's move from a binary treatment of differences in skin color to one that highlighted variations of skin color for the white woman as well as for the black woman.

Bazille's satisfaction with his models as well as his assessment of the complexity of the image would seem to belie the suggestion that he wanted to confine any of his models to the margins. Writing to his mother, Bazille declared his enthusiasm for the composition and the three models whose services he had engaged: "I have begun another [painting] which will be accepted [by the Salon jury], although I think very difficult to do. There are three women [in the composition] of which one [is] completely nude and the other nearly [nude]. I found a ravishing

model, but she is going to cost me an arm and a leg …"[370] A month later, he reiterated his good fortune: "I have had luck; there are three women in my painting and I have found three charming models of which one [is] a superb *négresse*. Their only fault is the great expense."[371] The choice of language is telling in the letters and underscores his ambivalence towards the fact that one of his models is a black woman – she is one of three charming women and her employment is costly – and his entrenched racialist thinking that casts her as the "*négresse superbe*." But this does not explain Bazille's qualifying term of "superb." Is she a splendid example of a black woman or is she superb, *tout court*?

Materializing the Black Female Body

My argument thus far has been that Bazille was intent on devising another pictorial idiom for painting "black" skin. Implicit in that new language is a reformulation of the black female body as well as an elevation of the status of this body to signify more than a representative of a racial type. Much of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century physiological typologizing of the black body concentrated on aspects of the head – its shape and size, facial angle, the length of the forehead, the shape of the nose, and the texture of the hair – and, specific to the black female body, the shape of the breasts, and the size of the hips and pelvis. However, it was the skin color of blacks that epitomized their racial identity and difference. Larousse, who devoted a significant amount of space in his entry on the "*Nègre*," began his description by emphasizing skin color:

[370] Bazille, *Correspondance*, 185, Letter 130, to his mother, January, 1870: "J'en commence un autre qui sera reçu, je pense quoique bien difficile à faire. Il y a trois femmes dont l'une entièrement nue et une autre presque. J'ai trouvé un modèle ravissant mais qui va coûter les oreilles …"

[371] Ibid., 187.

"The most striking characteristic, upon seeing Negroes, is the coloration, more or less dark, of their skin …"[372]

To paint black skin was a contrivance in the nineteenth century and it was supported by the dissemination of scientific findings on the coloristic and tactile properties of human skin, black and white. Anatomist, physiologist, and surgeon at the Faculté Médecine de Paris, Pierre-Nicolas Gerdy, who wrote in 1829 one of the most influential texts on anatomy for artists, provided a literal and value-laden explanation of the body's surface and that which lies hidden just below it. The structure, texture, color, and mutable characteristics of the skin were considered requisite for artists to understand and master in depicting the human body. The "envelope of the skin" makes visible to the artist not only that which is on the surface of the body, but also that which is under its "veil:" the veins, muscular and skeletal structure. Gerdy's rhetoric, while not overtly racist, nonetheless outlines categorical differences between white and black skin:

> The skin of the white person, is colored everywhere by an almost uniform tint. … [It] is not the same for the Negro. … Although very slight, the nuances of skin color are nevertheless substantial for the [white person]. It is claimed that this coloration is due to a whitish mucous layer, a kind of a coating or varnish spread between the thin and transparent membrane which forms the surface of the skin, and the dermis which is underneath. Since [Marcello] Malpighi, anatomists have constantly repeated this, adding that, if the Negro is different by his color, this tint proves that the mucous layer of his skin is black. … It is true that the Negro's skin displays under the epidermis which covers the surface a sort of coating or black pigment, but there is nothing analogous in the white person, and it [the white person's skin] must privilege its color, not to a whitened varnish, but to the absence of any colored coating.[373]

---

[372] Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, t. 16:903. "La caractère qui frappe le plus, à la vue des *nègres*, est la coloration plus ou moins foncée de leur peau …"

[373] Gerdy, *Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie*, 310-311: "La peau, chez la blanc, est partout colorée d'une teinte à peu près uniforme. … [Q]u'il n'en est pas de même chez le nègre. … Quoique fort légères chez le premier, les nuances de la couleur de la peau y sont cependant appréciables. On prétend que cette coloration est due à une *corps muqueux*, blanchâtre, sorte d'enduit ou de vernis répandu entre la membrane mince et transparente qui forme la surface de la peau, et le derme qui est au-dessous. Depuis Malpighi, les anatomistes l'ont sans cesse répété, en ajoutant que, si le nègre diffère de nous par le couleur, cette teinte provient de que le corps muqueux de sa peau est noir. … Il est bien vrai que la peau du nègre présente, sous l'épiderme qui revêt sa surface, une sorte d'enduit ou de peinture noire; mais il n'y a rien d'analogue

Gerdy's pronouncement that the Negro's skin color is not uniform is qualified by his statement that black skin does not exhibit the gradation or subtlety of color that is evident in white skin. The superior characteristics of white skin, detailed by Gerdy in this passage, are its uniformity of color *and* its ability to register slight variations in hue. While dispelling the misperception that a mucous membrane of a "whitened" hue separated the surface and the dermis of the white person's skin, Gerdy does not seek to overturn the notion that the Negro's skin appears as if the layer between the dermis and the epidermis is constituted of a black-hued sheath or liquid substance. This characterization seems to foreclose the possibility of variability.[374]

If painting black skin was associated with chromatic limitations, depicting a refined white woman's skin offered greater coloristic possibilities. White skin could be articulated by a range of luminous tints of beige, roseate, and yellow, frequently delicately blended so that the viewer could detect the slight gradations of hues that constituted the complexion. The mixing and layering of warm tones in rendering a white woman's skin could also infuse a vitality and expressiveness to the complexion.[375] Light-colored skin was thought to be able to absorb light, indeed it was also perceived as being able to emit light from within, and able to evoke recesses

---

chez la blanc, et il doit le privilège de sa couleur, non à vernis blanchâtre, mais à l'absence de tout enduit coloré." On the import of Gerdy's text after its publication and for later generations of artists, particularly those who studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, see Fend, "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860," and Anthea Callen, "The Body and Difference: Anatomy Training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the Later Nineteenth Century," *Art History* 20, no. 1 (March 1997): 23-60. See Jablonski, *Skin: A Natural History*, 65-75, for an excellent description of how melanin pigments are responsible for darkening the skin.

[374] Williams, *The Physical and the Moral*, 204, characterizes Gerdy's work at the Paris Faculté de Médecine as dualistic in that Gerdy (1797-1856) reconciled vitalism and its emphasis on "the spontaneity, indeterminacy, and variability of vital phenomena and the modern life sciences; with their insistence on the determinate and fixed character of physiological processes."

[375] For analyses of the techniques by which nineteenth-century painters applied layers of pigment and glazes to suggest the transparency, texture, and shades of pale skin, see Susan Sidlauskas, "Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's 'Madame X,'" *American Art* 15, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 8-33; Fend, "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860;" Grigsby, *Extremities*, 45-47; Angela Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2004): 563-592; and Tamar Garb, *The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France, 1814-1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 26 and 157.

of shadow.[376] Because black skin was presumed to be dense and impenetrable to light, racial theorists could make the argument that black skin was not only monotonous, but it was also mute. Due to the perceived saturation of its hue, black skin was incapable of communicating feelings or emotion.[377]

Rendering the "white" skin of a *bourgeoise* by applying a base layer of beige pigment and superimposing translucent pale peach or pink hues to invest it with a sense of vivacity, while deemed a strategy to celebrate the flawlessness or purity of a European woman's skin, was itself circumscribed by a limited spectrum from which to construct the illusion of a flawless, idealized complexion.[378] The relatively monochromatic convention of painting a white woman's skin, while flattering, could be alleviated by distinguishing other physiognomic details (hair and eye color, for instance), costume, and comportment. Those distinctions were denied, for the most part, to the representation of the black female whose role was confined to that of servant or ethnological subject, whose face and body were often shrouded in darkness, turned away from the viewer, generalized, or distorted. As Figuier claimed, the black person's skin color was deemed monochromatic, incapable of registering half-tones. Painting black skin, therefore, traditionally restricted to a greater degree the palette employed to render it.[379]

---

[376] Steven Connor, *The Book of Skin* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 161, describes this effect: "The cosmetic ideal of white skin was the ideal of pure luminosity, of a skin so refined that it was itself vanishing from view, and letting through a light coming from within." The translucency of white skin can also be attributed to the appearance of the subcutaneous veins which can alter the color of the skin. Also see Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," who traces the history of the blush in eighteenth-century portraiture of women of fashion and position.

[377] Figuier, *The Human Race*, 508: "The intellectual inferiority of the Negro is readable in his countenance, devoid of expression and mobility."

[378] This aspect of depicting a light-skinned woman's complexion and the distinctions between the "communicative" nature of J.-L. David's method of rendering skin and the "muted" and "monochrome" qualities of painted skin in images by J.-A.-D. Ingres are discussed by Mechthild Fend, in "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860."

[379] In *Éléments d'anthropologie générale* (Paris: A. Delahaye et É. Lecrosnier, 1885), 319, Paul Topinard continued to assert that the black person's skin exhibits little variety of pigmentation in comparison with races of medium skin coloring: "Chez les nègres les effets en seront peu visible …" Topinard did qualify this statement when

Depicting a woman of intermediate dark skin color, the mulatta, proved an easier task. In his image of *Aspasie* [Figure 42], Delacroix assembled a multifarious range of flesh tones in a strategy that defied the orthodoxy of depicting dark skin as unvarying and incapable of emanating the luminosity associated with white skin. Recurring passages of salmon-pink that articulate the left shoulder, right breast, chest, nose, and right cheek, set off a complexion that responds coloristically to the artificial light falling on Aspasie's body. Ochre-yellow and warm browns complement the salmon-pink to evince light and shadow falling on the exposed breasts, shoulders, and arms of the model (analogous to the pale pink streaks of paint that Delacroix employed to articulate the folds of Aspasie's white blouse). Aspasie's racial identity as a *sang-melé* presented Delacroix with a pretext for exploiting the mulatta's embodiment of a sultry sensuality, but it also afforded him the means to exploit the complexity inherent in the tonal values of medium dark skin.[380]

The nature of black skin was perceived as fixed not only by its color, but significantly also by its limited ability to suggest shadow and shading. The illusion of the three-dimensionality of black skin hinged upon the relative uniformity of its color bounded by distinct contours and the presence of light that could be reflected off the skin's surface. The impenetrable darkness and blankness of the skin, resistant to traditional pictorial efforts to render flesh visible, were assuaged by the purported natural filmy and glossy property of the skin. Naturalist, anthropologist, and racial theorist Julien-Joseph Virey pronounced in his treatise, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, that

---

he added, "yet, citing Broca among others, *nègres* who are transported to our country have lightened." ("cependant on a cité, et Broca entre autres, des nègres qui transportés dans nos pay ont pâli.")

[380] Bazille would have seen Delcacroix's *Aspasie* which Bruyas purchased in 1864 and donated to the Musée Fabre, Montpellier in 1868. See Sarah Lees, ed., *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!: The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*, 128-129, for the painting's provenance. For an insightful discussion of how the mulatto/a was perceived in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century French racialist science and literature as well as in Delacroix's images of *The Massacres at Chios* and *Aspasie*, see Grigsby, *Extremities*, 259-274. Also see Claude Blanckaert, "Of Monstrous Métis? Hybridity, Fear of Miscegenation, and Patriotism from Buffon to Paul Broca," in *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, eds. Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 42-70.

the *nègre* of West and Central Africa possessed "very oily skin, satiny, of a deep black [color]."[381] It is tempting to read into Virey's description a divided view of the physical properties of black skin. Here, he mitigates the oily and pronounced darkness of skin by assigning it a satin-like texture. But to visualize Virey's description of black skin is to imagine a glossiness or sheen and lack of transparency that precludes the skin from absorbing light; black skin can only reflect light. In her study of early nineteenth-century pictorial strategies for overcoming the tonal limitations in depicting black skin, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby points out "[l]ight and dark grounds necessitate unlike pictorial tasks: light ground requires the conjuration of shadow; the dark, the conjuration of light. The dark ground unlike the light allows the quick, decisive, optimally placed reflection to perform a remarkable amount of illusionistic work."[382] Despite their success in rendering the black body three-dimensionally through the skin's capacity to reflect light, artists could rarely sustain a way to communicate the condition of sentience or immediacy.

An example of this can be seen in Théodore Chassériau's image of the odalisque in her bath, *Bain au sérail*, 1849 [Figure 48]. A student of Ingres and convert to Delacroix's painterly and coloristic style, Chassériau built a reputation around his images of sensuous female bodies placed in historical and exotic settings.[383] His representation of the light-skinned odalisque attended by her black servant conformed to the conventions of elevating the light-skinned woman, here quite literally, to a position in which her entitlement as the sole embodiment of

[381] Julien-Joseph Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2:7: "une peau très huileuse, satinée, d'un noir foncé." Despite Virey's racist views, his claims were frequently contradictory. In this passage, he assigns both pejorative and pleasing characteristics to a black person's skin. Nevertheless, Virey's comparative studies of the anatomy of Caucasian and black persons emboldened his assertion that human beings were composed of two separate species. This position would strengthen the polygenist argument of human origins espoused later in the century. For more on Virey's racist science, see Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 40-43. Figuier repeats Virey's characterization of black skin in *The Human Race*, 505: "The skin of Negroes is very porous … but it is far from hard in all cases, being in some instances quite the reverse, smooth, satiny, and extremely soft to the touch."

[382] In this passage, Grigsby, *Extremities*, 46, discusses the method by which Anne-Louis Girodet painted black skin in the portrait of *Jean-Baptiste Belley*, 1797.

[383] On Chassériau's Orientalist work and travels in Algeria, see Stéphane Guégan, *Théodore Chassériau, 1819-1856: The Unknown Romantic* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002).

beauty is never in doubt. The requisite signifiers of a racialist hierarchical configuration are in place: the black woman and the woman with a tawny-hued complexion on the right side of the composition are situated as subordinates literally and chromatically in their relationship to the towering light-skinned figure in the center. Pale skin, luminous and radiant, prominently displayed, and warm and inviting to the touch (the black female servant does not touch the skin of the standing woman; this act of intimacy is precluded by the white cloth that separates and shields the odalisque's body from the black hand) is starkly contrasted with the charcoal-black hue Chassériau employed to compose the black woman's skin. The black servant, kneeling, covered in loose-fitting garments so that only her face and right arm are visible, is constructed out of vigorous painterly brushwork that mimics the agitated gesture of her task as she concentrates on attending to the woman who has emerged from the bath. Her face is so occluded by its tilted angle that out of the ebony darkness of her form only the gleaming light emitted from her earring and her eye are perceptible. Yet, these two small particles of whitish pigment which should draw the eye to her face cannot compete with the dazzling white of the cloth she holds. And, as if to declare that black skin is not capable of reflecting unmediated translucent light, Chassériau applied feathered strokes of the gray pigment, the same pigment that he used to render the headscarf, to the woman's upper right arm suggesting a kind of dulled, mottled diffusion of light.

Chassériau chose to materialize the black woman's skin in *Bain au sérail* through sketchy, broadly applied brushwork. However, other artists who worked to conceal their brushwork (and impart a sleek finish to the objects they depicted) and who sought to convey a sense of verisimilitude in the representation of the body were more culpable in perpetuating quasi-scientific notions about the black body under the mantle of ethnographic veracity. Orientalist Jean-Léon

Gérôme's *Moorish Bath*, 1870 [Figure 6], painted in the same year as *La Toilette*, purports to represent such truths about the black female body (and, indeed, about the white female body whose generalized features and effacement are equally egregious). Gérôme's black servant, whom Linda Nochlin identifies as a "Sudanese servant girl" and who functions in the image as "the worn, unfeminine ugly black one,"[384] is meant to evoke an ambiguously gendered figure. Semi-nude, as is the figure in *La Toilette*, the black woman awkwardly pivots and bends her body towards the passive, light-skinned woman while holding onto a cumbersome brass basin. The pressure exerted on the black model's right shoulder as it counteracts the strain of the basin's weight is amplified by Gérôme's application of ivory pigment that reads as reflective light on her upper arm. Yet, this punctum of light that draws the eye to the black woman's well-developed shoulder cannot compete with the burnished glow of the basin and the elaborate, lustrous head wrap that frames her obscured face. The black body here is not an aestheticized body at all; it is defined by a musculature associated with physical labor and the displeasing proportions that result from that labor. As Griselda Pollock has aptly observed of Gérôme's black model, "She will usually be more muscled and physically active than the whiter woman in the painting. But all of her body seems less significant to the painters than her headwear."[385]

---

[384] Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 47. Nochlin's identification of the servant's ethnicity as Sudanese may be based on Gerald M. Ackerman's pronouncement that the model was meant to be perceived as a Nubian (a modern day Sudanese). Ackerman points out that Gérôme began the painting in London, but finished the canvas "in Paris as there was no model for the Nubian slave in London." If Gérôme's professional black model living in Paris was from the French Antilles or French-born, it underscores the artifice of substituting any black body for a culturally-specific black body. Gérôme may not have been able to secure a Nubian as his model because Nubians, in any significant numbers, were not brought to Paris until 1877 when they were put on display at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation*. See Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, with a Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), 226. On the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation*, see Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Sandrine Lemaire, "From Scientific Racism to Popular and Colonial Racism in France and the West," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 104-113; and Michael A. Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

[385] Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 295.

Despite being depicted frontally, only one breast is visible – small and sagging, it proffers no gratifying glimpse of an idealized rounded breast – and the other breast is adumbrated and shrouded behind the ornate pendant that calls attention to its surface rather than complements the bare flesh.[386] The black model's face is shrouded, too, in darkness as she turns her head away from the source of light. But her silhouetted face clearly exposes the conspicuous prognathism of her jaw, that key indexical sign of black inferiority asserted by natural historians and anthropologists since the late eighteenth century.[387] In fact, Gérôme does not allow for the projection of a nose or cheek bone to mitigate the prominence of the jaw. Her face reads as a darkened mass, one that forecloses an interpretation of an individual presence. Gérôme does display some of his illusionary acumen in rendering the black woman's form. Despite employing a relatively monochromatic palette for her skin color and placing her against a background of

[386] To the list of physiognomic differences between the races that scientists measured and indexed – skin color, texture of hair, cranial shape, hips, buttocks, and genitalia – could be added breast shape. Londa L. Schiebinger, in *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 64, writes, "Europeans preferred the compact 'hemispherical' type, found, it was said, only among whites and Asians. The much-maligned breasts of African (especially Hottentot) women were dismissed as flabby and pendulous, similar to the udders of goats." Virey is one authoritative source for assigning this trait to the African woman. He declared that African women could throw their breasts over their shoulders to suckle the infant they carried on their backs: "Les négresses réjettant quelquefois leur mamelles par-dessus leur épauls, pour les offrir à leur nourrison placé sur leur dos." See *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2:163. Larousse reiterated this characteristic in the *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, t. 16:903. Also see *The Prose Poems and La Fanfarlo*, trans. Rosemary Lloyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 66, for Charles Baudelaire's "La Belle Dorothée." Baudelaire endows his protagonist, a seductive African-Caribbean prostitute, with many of the stereotypical physical markers associated with the black female: "She moves forward, with a soft swaying of her torso, which seems so slim against her broad hips. Her dress of clinging silk, in a light, pink colour, contrasts starkly with the darkness of her skin and moulds perfectly her deep waist, her hollow back, and her pointed breasts." Willis and Williams, in *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History*, have compiled a substantive number of photographs of the black female nude made before and after the mid-nineteenth century that clearly negate the universal and deprecating assertion made by Virey and other nineteenth-century anatomists.

[387] Peter Camper (1722-1789), Dutch anatomist and painter, is credited with devising the system for measuring the face line to ascertain the degree of the protrusion of the lower jaw. The reliance on quantifying the angle of the face as a determinate of a race's intelligence was maintained well into the nineteenth century by prominent French physicians and anthropologists such as Broca and Topinard. In part, the inferiority of "black" races was based on comparative measurements between Caucasians and blacks and the fact that, in general, the measurement for blacks fell below that for whites. The white ideal measured approximately ninety degrees and apes had a facial angle of sixty-five degrees; the black person's facial angle was thought to be closer to that of apes. See Stephen Jay Gould, *Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History* (New York: Norton, 1991), 229-240, for Camper's methods and conclusions. By the late nineteenth century, anthropologist and monogenist Armand de Quatrefages, in *L'espèce humaine*, 1877, translated as *The Human Species* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), 391, acknowledged that "[a]ll races and all individuals are more or less prognathous."

dark greenish-blue, the artist establishes her corporeality through the impression of tightly stretched, unpliant skin that covers and exposes an angular and bent frame.

While my focus is directed at the black female's body in this image, I want to acknowledge that the white female is also depicted with a lack of specificity, but one that is, nevertheless, invested with an ideal of European feminine beauty. Gérôme's "white" beauty is endowed with supple, unblemished, ivory flesh. But the surface of her body denies the existence of bone and muscle supporting her rounded back and limbs. Linda Nochlin offers the term "taxidermy" as a framework in which to understand the lifeless state of many figures in Gérôme's Orientalist images. She writes: "And like the exhibits displayed behind glass in the natural-history museum, these paintings include everything within their boundaries – everything, that is, except a sense of life, the vivifying breath of shared human experience." [388]

The persuasive power of Gérôme's technical skills to conjure bodies that appear to have an objective existence, as well as the plenitude of detail he assembles in rendering an exotic interior associated with a specific geographic setting, trumpeted the image's seeming authenticity to Salon audiences. While the seams and fabrication inherent in his representational practice are obvious now, Gérôme's technique would have convinced his audiences of its veracity. Yet, for all its superficial naturalism, the human figure is lacking the particularity that endows it with a sense of immediacy and vivacity. Writing in 1878, art theorist Charles Blanc praised the illusionary skills of Gérôme in depicting racial difference and equated authenticity with Gérôme's distillation of individuality into a generalized type: "[Gérôme] excels at racial characterization by making an individual chosen from a thousand, the type for an entire human

[388] Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 50.

race."[389] Stripped literally and metaphorically of the particularizing characteristics that Gérôme lavishes on inanimate objects in the composition (the immense assemblage of richly colored drapery placed precariously above the tiled and plastered wall, for example), the female figures in the *Moorish Bath* can be better understood as typologized models conceived and rendered to embody the racial essence of the "white" and "black" female.

The image by Édouard Bernard Debat-Ponsan, *Scène de harem: le massage*, 1883 [Figure 49], confirms how compelling Gérôme's pictorial precedent was and how easily it could be adapted. To be sure, Debat-Ponsan employed a more inclusive palette than Gérôme's in rendering the black woman's skin. Ochre and sienna highlights are overlaid onto the warm dark brown pigment that formally establishes the color of the black woman's complexion. These colors are echoed in her skirt and scarf, reinforcing rather than competing with the color of her skin. But every other racialist ploy is orchestrated, particularly the extreme dichotomy between white and black skin – and the aesthetically pleasing and aesthetically displeasing – with minimal variation on Gérôme's theme. As in the *Moorish Bath*, black is separate from white in aesthetic and absolute terms.

The stark dualities of white skin juxtaposed to black skin in Bazille's *ebauche* in *L'Atelier de la rue de La Condamine* and the preliminary study for *La Toilette* may summon a favorable comparison with Gérôme's pictorial process for depicting black and white female bodies in an Orientalist context but, in other substantive ways, Bazille avoids the abrupt divisions and boundaries that Gérôme formalized in his compositions. Instead of two racially distinct

[389] Charles Blanc, *Les beaux-arts à l'Exposition universelle de 1878* (Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1878), 238: "[Gérôme] excelle à caractériser les races, à faire, d'un individu choisi entre mille, le type de toute une espèce d'hommes." Also see Christine Peltre, *Orientalism in Art*, trans. John Goodman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), 154, and Mary Anne Stevens, ed., *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse: The Allure of North Africa and the Far East*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984), 141, for her discussion of Gérôme's *Moorish Bath*.

female bodies intimately close but never allowed to touch (in Debat-Ponsan's image, the black woman's touch is reduced to a gesture of labor and the white woman offers no reciprocal response), Bazille conjoins his figures through mutual touching, holding, and cradling to elicit what Linda Nochlin found utterly missing in Gérôme's images: a sense of "shared human experience." Integral to the preliminary states of *La Toilette* is the complementary, rather than dichotomous, relationship between the two bodies. The reciprocity (and sense of fit and unity) between the two bodies is accentuated by the seated figure's right hand that reaches around the neck and shoulders of the black woman; indeed, it seems to be a caress. In return, the kneeling figure extends her right arm and gently reaches under the right thigh of the seated nude. The figure of the seated nude lacks some of the clarity that Bazille affords to the kneeling woman's form; her limp body seems to be collapsing into the arms of her attendant. And the kneeling woman's skirt falls conspicuously below her waist revealing a curvaceous figure, endowing her form with a greater sensuous physical presence than that of the light-skinned woman, a divergence from Gérôme's "unfeminine" black female servant. The visual harmony between the two bodies, articulated by rounded contours and relaxed limbs overlapping each other, undermines the unabashedly contrived dissimilarities of the two women's forms in Gérôme's *Moorish Bath*. The fact that Bazille, in this early stage, decided to retain the chromatic polarities between black and white in the rendering of skin color, does not signal a tacit acceptance of Orientalist or racist reductivism, but rather indicates that he was still experimenting with and tweaking a familiar, clichéd subject.[390]

[390] I do not mean to imply that Gérôme absolutely avoided depicting black and white women touching in his Orientalist images, but those representations, such as *The Bath* and *The Great Bath at Bursa*, post date the *Moorish Bath* and Bazille's *La Toilette*. For the most comprehensive study of Gérôme's oeuvre, see Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme.* What I have not addressed yet, but which is implied in *La Toilette*, is a homoerotic subtext. On the subject of lesbian relationships within the harem and as a pretext for homoerotic frisson in Orientalist literature and images, see Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880*, exh. cat. (Rochester, NY: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982), 99; and Ruth Bernard

For all of the scholarly discussion of Bazille's penchant for assimilating other artists' pictorial strategies, particularly Gérôme's, Bazille would likely not have seen Gérôme's *Moorish Bath* because Gérôme did not submit it to the 1870 Salon.[391] But Gérôme, as one of the principal members of the painting jury for that year, certainly knew Bazille's entry. If Bazille was trying to exert any influence on certain members of the jury, most notably Gérôme, by invoking a safe subject and appealing to their taste for lavish surface details and smooth brushwork, the plan failed; the jury refused *La Toilette*.[392] Art historian Gary Tinterow has pointed out that Gérôme's displeasure with *La Toilette* may have been rooted in a perception of the work as an unwelcome foray into his "Orientalist territory."[393] In a letter to his mother, Bazille enunciated his disappointment at the outcome: "There has been an error it seems and I was misinformed. This is going to bore you, as for me, you know what I have thought of the jury for a longtime, I have been in a very bad mood, but [I am] not at all discouraged."[394]

Regardless of whether Bazille consciously set out to appeal to the biases of the jury with *La Toilette*, it is certain that Bazille held little regard for Gérôme. In fact, Bazille's antipathy for the older artist is unambiguous in one of his late letters. Although the two artists met briefly in Gleyre's studio in 1863, Bazille does not mention Gérôme again in his letters until 1869, by which time Bazille's and Gérôme's attitude towards each other had turned adversarial. Writing to his father, Bazille recounted that one of his submissions was accepted to the Salon of 1869

Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 119-126.

[391] Bazille was, however, familiar with Gérôme's other Orientalist work.

[392] Bazille submitted *Scene d'été* and *La Toilette* and, to his surprise, the jury accepted the former. For a discussion of the composition of the Salon juries from 1866 to 1874, and Gérôme's authoritative influence on painting juries, see Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Gérôme's role on the 1870 jury certainly was prominent, but Roos points out that the composition of the jury that year also included a liberal, modernist contingent. See pages 137-146.

[393] Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism*, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), 337.

[394] Bazille, *Correspondance*, 191, Letter 137, to his mother, April 27, 1870: "Il y a eu erreur à ce qu'il paraît, et j'étais mal informé. Cela va vous ennuyer, pour moi tu sais ce que je pense du jury depuis longtemps, j'ai été de fort mauvaise humeur, mais nullement découragé."

despite Gérôme's opposing vote on the painting jury: "I have one painting accepted: that of the woman [*La vue du village*]. … It pleases me that there is a real animosity towards us. It is M. Gérôme who has done all the harm, he treats us like a group of mad men, and declared that he believed it his duty to do everything to prevent our paintings from being viewed."[395]

Thus, this note of independence and resolve, rather than of capitulation to Gérôme's aesthetic tyranny, is what I see manifested in the preliminary studies and finished canvas for *La Toilette*. The studies demonstrate a pictorial strategy of representing black and white female bodies resolutely discrete in hue yet breaching their chromatic boundaries through reciprocal touching. In the completed oil, Bazille expands his meditation on the theme of the harem/Oriental bath/toilette by "fleshing out" the bodies of women of different ethnicities literally and metaphorically and abandoning the intransigent notion that the representation of a "black" and a "white" subject must accede to a value-laden scale in which "white" always eclipses "black."

Even when fleshed out, the black woman's presence can be overshadowed in the company of a white woman. Manet's *Olympia*, 1863 [Figure 44], to which *La Toilette* and the two *Négresses* have been compared,[396] oscillates between a chromatic erasure of the black woman, whose name we now know is Laure, and the magnification of her person in scale and through the distinctive facial features Manet grants her. The intensity of the brown and ebony pigments that constitute her complexion and the curtain panels against which she stands, however, impede the viewer's ability to see her visage with any clarity. The gray-hued sclera (paradoxically called the white of the eyes) provides just enough illumination to allow the viewer

[395] Bazille, *Correspondance*, 172, Letter 119, to his father, April 9, 1869: "J'ai une seule toile reçue: la femme. … Ce qui me fait plaisir, c'est qu'il y a contre nous une vraie animosité. C'est M. Gérôme qui a fait tout le mal, il nous a traités de bande de fous, et déclaré qu'il croyait de son devoir de tout faire pour empêcher nos peintres de paraître." Also see Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)*, 123-130, for an analysis of the composition of the jury of 1869 and the criteria that governed their decisions.

[396] See Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 295-297.

to discern her face and her glance towards Olympia. The dangling vermillion earring on the left side of her face acts as one chromatic relief to the dark value of her deep brown skin. The other visual intervals that break up this darkness are her pink frock and headdress and the bouquet of flowers. Without the addition of her pale pink and coral-hued head wrap and the gray-white floral tissue, her face and hand would dematerialize.

Of course, Manet's juxtaposition of the reclining figure, contestable itself as a sign of unsullied whiteness, with the standing figure of Laure should not be read as the simplistic elevation of the worthiness of a white European woman's body over that of a woman of African descent. The complexities and paradoxes of this image and the various methodologies that have been employed by contemporary art historians to elicit meaning from it are widely known. And rarely is Laure the subject of the reading. T.J. Clark, whose extraordinary documentation of the critical reception of *Olympia* is the centerpiece of the current scholarship on the image, finds little or no correlation between Laure's status and mid-nineteenth-century class struggle to merit a discussion of her role in the image.[397] Of Laure, he wrote that "the maid is black, convenient sign, stock property of any harlot's progress, derealised, telling us little or nothing of social class."[398] On the other hand, Carol Armstrong's analysis of the image foregrounds the shared function of Olympia and Laure: "*Olympia* poses the small white body of the nude next to the more ample, clothed figure of a black servant, both differentiating between their othernesses and

[397] T. J. Clark, "Olympia's Choice," *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 79-146. Exceptions to this exclusionary practice include Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 277-300, whose analysis focuses primarily on the depiction of Laure and offers an insightful reading of Laure's figure as a sign of modernity in the image. Also see Charmaine A. Nelson, *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 111-112, for her discussion of the displacement of "carnality" from Laure onto the figure of Olympia. Lorraine O'Grady, "Olympia's Maid: Reclaiming Black Female Subjectivity," in *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Amelia Jones (London: Routledge, 2003), 174-187, characterizes Laure in Manet's painting as a "robot conveniently made to disappear into the background drapery" (175). Laure's sexuality is examined by Michael D. Harris, "Jezebel, *Olympia*, and the Sexualized Woman," in *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 124.

[398] T. J. Clark, "Preliminaries to a Possible Treatment of 'Olympia'in 1865," *Screen* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 39.

the classed services they perform, and associating, doubling, and underscoring the alterity of femininity with that of negritude, thereby reiterating a longstanding tradition."[399]

I would argue that Laure's prominent position, mutually dependent in its relationship with Olympia and unexpectedly against type for a black woman, negates Clark's consignment of Laure to the margins. But in fairness to Clark, Laure is defined by her association with Olympia and she fulfills, in part, the role of the stock servant kept at a discrete distance from her mistress. As we have also seen, Orientalist images carefully preserved a semblance of distance between the black and white female bodies so that the sexual fantasy and the notion of beauty associated with the female nude could be fully projected onto the white woman's body. One need only look at Gérôme's North African bath images to comprehend that the white female body serves as the only site of desire and feminine beauty. Gérôme's bathers are conspicuously depicted as delicate, sensual, light-skinned Europeans and the black female attendant's skin, in opposition, is frequently rendered in dulled hues and she inhabits a body that is muscular and ambiguously gendered. To contravene that formula would not only have been a rupture in the homogeneous nature of Gérôme's method (and a rupture in the racist ideology that, for the most part, remained unchallenged), but it would also have been an acknowledgement that a dark-skinned female or male, for that matter, could be conceived as a compelling object of singularity and beauty.

My contention that the female servant in Bazille's painting was conceived and depicted as an aesthetically pleasing – indeed, beautiful – object is not conditioned on the premise that Bazille somehow elided the particular physiognomic traits of a woman of African descent. What Bazille captured in *La Toilette* and built on in the two *Négresse aux pivoines* is the model's unique physiognomic features that are liberated from a notion of racial difference that is proximate, caricatural, and exaggerated, and in which reductivism eclipses holism. I would like

[399] Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 152.

to suggest that Bazille's image strays from a concept of the racialized body that seeks to break the body down into discrete parts that can be indexed, (metaphorically) dissected, and gendered according to a determinist ideology.

The model's bare back in *La Toilette*, emphasized by the slight projection of the shoulder blades and the connecting *teres major* muscles and the suggestion of the median furrow, attests to Bazille's knowledge of human anatomy. Yet, because of the physical disposition of the model, the concealment of her breasts, and the intractable association of the image of the black male body with the supplicating or servile figure, she has been read as having a "masculine" countenance.[400] But a closer look at other modernist images would assuage this conclusion and stereotyping. An example is Courbet's *The Bathers*, 1853 [Figure 43], a painting Bazille knew well from the Bruyas collection. The striding woman's back is defined by well-formed and proportioned shoulders and rolls of excessive flesh that are dimpled and puckered. Courbet's uncompromising commitment to depicting a robust, albeit non-classical, body certainly drew the ire of critics at the 1853 Salon.[401] But Courbet's unconventional representation of the female bather is foremost about the corporeality of flesh and the bodily presence of the figure and this is what Bazille seems intent on realizing in his image. Separating these two representations, Bazille's kneeling black female and Courbet's white bather, is the disconcerting notion that frequently the racialized body is characterized as a gendered body.

---

[400] Bazille scholar Dianne Pitman favors this interpretation. She writes, "The black servant's posture and placement, as well as her 'masculine' attributes, also provide a surrogate for the [presumed male] beholder …" See Pitman, *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting*, 170. Charmaine A. Nelson, in *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art*, 110, elaborates on this notion. Despite the tradition of associating the black female body with a heightened sexuality, Nelson asserts that the "represented black female not only suffers a not-man and not-phallus construction, but also a not-woman and not-white displacement." Also See Grigsby, *Extremities*, 28-32, for images of the kneeling black male that circulated in France in the late eighteenth century.

[401] On the critical reception of this work, see Sarah Lees, ed., *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet*!: *The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre*, 106-108.

In the European imaginary, the black female body was forced to conform to multiple (and contradictory) gendered roles. The most frequently rehearsed role assigned to the black female was that of the alluring temptress. Nineteenth-century naturalists sustained a correlation between the physical attributes of the *négresse* and her excessive sexual appetites.[402] Literary characterizations of the overtly sexual black female – Baudelaire's poems dedicated to *la Vénus noire* and his prose poem "La Belle Dorothée" represent such examples[403] – expanded on the stereotype proffered by the scientific establishment. But it should be noted that even when depicted as the heterosexual seductress, the black female's sexuality could be deemed aggressive, unnatural, and, therefore "masculine." Or, in the case of some Orientalist images such as Gérôme's the *Moorish Bath,* the black female body served as the sign of sexuality, but she was given masculine or androgynous features so that she could not compete with the white woman as the site of the male viewer's sexual fantasy. As Deborah Willis and Carla Williams insightfully observe of nineteenth-century photographs of the black female body, "Virtually always when she is depicted she is either a sexualized mythology or a neutered anomaly, defined by her sexuality or lack of it."[404]

While one could argue that Bazille's depiction of the black model in *La Toilette* approached (although tentatively) Gérôme's Orientalist pictorial tradition, one may also read

---

[402] For example, see Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2:150. "Les nègres sont, pour le plupart, très ardents en amour, et les négresses portent la volupté jusqu'a des lascivetés ignorées dan nos climats. Leurs organes sexuels sont beaucoup plus développés que ceux des blancs." ("Negroes are, in most cases, very passionate lovers, and negresses bear a sensuousness to the point of a lasciviousness unknown in our climates. Their sexual organs are much more developed than those of whites.") Also see Larousse's entry for "*Femme*," t. 10:203: "Les *femmes*, comme les hommes, de la race nègre sont portees à la lasciveté beaucoup plus que les *femmes* blanches." It is important to note that some naturalists, like Virey, appropriated their characterizations from travel literature rather than from any empirical evidence and that throughout much of the nineteenth century, these assertions remained authoritative.

[403] Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, trans. James McGowan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Poems 22-39 comprise the "Black Venus" cycle. Also see Christopher L. Miller, *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 98-138.

[404] See Willis and Williams, *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History*, 2. Also see Sharpley-Whiting, *Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French*.

Bazille's treatment of the black woman as being based more on observation than formula. Indeed, I want to argue that Bazille endeavored to mitigate secured stereotyped signifiers of alterity associated with the female black body. The physical disposition of the kneeling woman in *La Toilette* and the extension of her torso towards the seated nude occlude a view of her right breast, providing only a faint indication of this part of her anatomy. As I have already discussed, the disparaging descriptions of the breasts of women of African descent, which compared them to the udders of animals or imagined that they could be flung over their shoulders, were promulgated by many anatomists and natural scientists who enunciated their findings under the mantle of scientific objectivity. Comparative anatomist Georges Cuvier, whose examination and dissection of Saartjie Baartman's body in 1815 has generated and crystallized much of the recent discourse on the alterity of the black female body in the nineteenth century,[405] secured other morphological distinctions for the so-called Hottentot Venus that went well beyond her steatopygia and her *tablier* (hypertrophied labia). Of her breasts, he wrote in 1817: "[They] were shown to be large hanging masses culminating in an oblique blackish areole …"[406] Although Cuvier described Baartman's breasts in morphological and clinical language, his choice of words, nevertheless, conveyed a nuanced aversion.

[405] The exploitative treatment of Saartjie Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman from South Africa, who was exhibited in England and France where she died in 1815, is well documented. For many scholars who examine the gendering and "othering" of racial difference, she has come to represent, because of her steatopygia and labia, black female alterity. And these scholars have rightly emphasized the ways in which Cuvier described her as less than human. But as Cuvier's memoir demonstrates, his reaction to her while she was alive and after her death was more complex and conflicted. An excellent rebuttal to arguments made by Sander L. Gilman in **"**Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," is offered by Zine Magubane, **"**Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Odyssey of the 'Hottentot Venus,'" *Gender and Society* 15, no. 6 (December 2001): 816-834. For other texts that challenge Gilman's conclusions, see Mieke Bal, "A Postcard from the Edge," in *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 195-224; and Stephen Jay Gould, "The Hottentot Venus," in *The Flamingo's Smile: Reflections in Natural History* (New York: Norton, 1985), 291-301.

[406] Georges Cuvier, *Discours sur les révolutions du globe: études sur l'ibis et mémoire sur la Vénus Hottentote* (Paris: Passard, 1864), 215: "Les seins … montrèrent leur grosses masses pendantes terminées obliquement par une aréole noirâtre …"

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, the German anatomist and physiologist who appropriated the name of the geographic region Caucasus to signify the "white race" as the most beautiful of the human races, imposed, as did most natural scientists, a taxonomic structure to his study of humankind. Discrete categories of properties of the human body – the brain, skull, hair, skin color, eyes, breasts, and genitals, for example – were subjected to comparative analysis based on geographical and racial classifications. Despite a racialist subtext, Blumenbach tempered his findings against a physiological essentialist vision. But his description of the breasts of women of African descent is, nevertheless, corroboration that such a physiognomic attribute existed. As Blumenbach writes, "There is a cloud of witnesses to prove that the breasts of the females in some nations, especially of Africa and some Islands of the South Pacific Ocean, are very long and pendulous." Blumenbach goes on to argue, "Meanwhile I must observe first, that their proportions have been exaggerated beyond the truth; and also that this conformation is not common to all women of the same race."[407]

Bazille's decision to conceal his black model's breasts, it seems to me, is not a denial of her femininity, and it certainly does not gratify expectations by assigning her the characteristics associated with a malformed body. I would argue his depiction of this model represents a more favorable treatment of a black woman whose body Bazille refused to consign to the definite and the categorical. A comparison with the oil study by Thomas Eakins, for which the same model likely posed, proves useful in understanding how Bazille resisted accommodating the obligatory racialist features associated with the black female body.

While Eakins's image adhered to many of the expected somatic characteristics of the black female body, it avoided the distilled (and presumed) verisimilitude that was the hallmark of

[407] Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind. De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa* in *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, 247.

Eakins's teacher, Gérôme. In *Female Model*, c. 1867-1869 [Figure 50], Eakins brings the model's nude body, cropped just below her breasts, close to the picture plane. Her profiled face – on which he bestows the greatest detail of her form – bears the unambiguous signs of her prognathism: a prominent jaw line accompanied by heavy lips. Expansive passages of muddied auburn and chestnut pigment applied loosely and broadly to her arm and chest reinforce the illusion of limp and weathered flesh and sagging breasts. Thin parallel streaks of blackish-brown paint dragged over the arm and chest affect an epidermal surface that is also darkened by the evidence of wrinkles and creases. Where light reflects off her shoulder and neck, only geometric patterns of undmodulated pigment are discernable. If Eakins wanted to declare that the model's flesh must be understood primarily as the accumulation of pigment on a flat surface, his articulation of the headscarf and earring subvert the import of this purpose. The precision with which Eakins renders the crimson, black, and cream-colored madras scarf and the model's vermillion earring is discordant with the broadly applied patches of pigment deployed to suggest flesh. The model's bare flesh lacks the specificity of the accessories she wears.

It is unlikely that either artist would have known of the other's work and neither image was intended to invoke absolute accuracy in capturing the model's likeness. She represented the *négresse* to both artists. But Eakins viewed her through the objectifying matrix of the abject and the racialized Other. Despite depicting the model's face with a portrait-like individuation – we can observe the similarities between her features in Eakins's and Bazille's images – Eakins chose to emphasize her "Negroid" features – imagined, real, or exaggerated – and this subsumed her image into the unequivocal rather than the relative. Bazille seems to have understood the limitations of such a prescription for depicting the black female body. While not eliminating any reference to her prognathic lower jaw, he lessened the severity of the oblique angle of the

woman's jaw line on which Eakins and Gérôme steadfastly insisted. Its definition is not annulled, however, and Bazille ensured that it is apparent to the viewer by rendering the black woman's face in silhouette against the pale torso of the seated nude. But her profile does not fix her corporeal presence, nor does her bare, muscled back, nor does the color of her skin.

Bazille refused the putative properties that his contemporaries had assigned to black skin and claimed it as a site on which a spectrum of hues and the gradation of those hues can be observed. It was Bazille's challenge here to use color to create the sense of a unique living body without depriving the model of her identity as a woman of African descent. Certainly, the juxtaposition of the kneeling model with the seated light-skinned nude made their "racial" distinctions obvious. But reading the two bodies as dark against light is an oversimplification of Bazille's extraordinary application of color and tonal values in the articulation of the kneeling woman's skin. Blended and built over a foundational layer of a hazel-brown pigment is an uncommon assemblage of warm colors not traditionally associated with black skin: copper, plum, orange, and pink. The expanse of bare skin on the black model's back and arms catches and absorbs light where the skin projects from the slight bulge of muscle or is caught by the hollow of the spinal column. Graduated tones of light brown, from a faint cinnamon hue to a deeper hazel brown, are blended or laid down in discrete strokes to articulate the muscle and skin of her back and right arm, conferring a convincing corporeality to the black woman's body (a corporeality that rivals that of the other two figures). The fullness and roundness of the black woman's figure is also emphasized by the multi-colored skirt which hugs her form. And the palette of coral, gold, and crimson employed for her skirt and headscarf plays off her skin, enlivening it, and imparting another dimension of warmth to it.

Among the three figures, the kneeling woman's skin and body are afforded the greatest particularity. Bazille draws attention to the slightly darker patch of skin at the elbow, a small detail, but one which is denied to the knee of the seated nude, whose lower body is composed of a smooth sheath of ivory pigment that conveys no hint of a structure beneath its surface. Of course, it is not just the pasty color of the nude woman's skin that suggests a lack of vitality, but it also the slumping and awkward disposition of her body that suppresses the corporeality of her form. Certainly, the ambitious scale of the composition and the amount of detail and textures – the fur-covered divan, elaborately patterned wall paper, the silky dressing gown with Japanese floral motifs, and the emerald satin mules, among the many textural surfaces – and the inclusion of three female figures could have precluded Bazille from treating the black woman as anything more than a foil against which the seated nude would emerge as the focus of the composition. But I would contend that it is the light-skinned woman who assumes the subordinate position in the image. The analogous colors from which she is constructed allow for only minimal differentiation of her skin against the cream-colored fur and the icy-white drapery that decorously covers her lower torso and right leg. On seeing *La Toilette*, poet Paul Valéry remarked that the seated nude appeared as if she were made out rubber in contrast to the other two figures who were superbly painted.[408] While the seated nude's face is rendered with specificity, it is her right hand, the splaying of the fingers across the kneeling woman's back, echoed by the organic white pattern in the headscarf, which

[408] Valéry quoted in Gaston Poulain, "Paul Valéry au Musée Fabre," *Itinéraires* (November 1942): "Il est dommage que le corps du cette femme soit en caoutchouc, car les autres figures sont admirablement bien peintres …" *La Toilette* bears a notable resemblance to Gustave Courbet's *Dressing the Dead Girl* (*La Toilette de la morte*), c. 1850-1855, in the Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts. The limp figure of the seated dead woman and the kneeling woman, who prepares to dress the corpse with an outer garment, could have been a pictorial source for Bazille who knew Courbet in Paris and may have learned of this image at Courbet's studio. The dead girl was originally painted as a nude; her clothing was added later by another artist's hand. On Courbet's painting, see Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, *Courbet Reconsidered*, exh. cat. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1988), 126-128; and John Davis and Jaroslaw Leshko, *The Smith College Museum of Art: European and American Painting and Sculpture, 1760-1960* (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 2000), 38-39.

secures the literal and metaphysical center of convergence in the composition: "white" flesh touching "black" flesh, drawing the eye to the luminous skin of the kneeling woman's back.

Touching

The heightened tactility of Bazille's objects in *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines* – skin as well as fabric, fur, and flowers – elicits and reinforces the importance of the sense of touch. This sensation is profoundly evoked in the gesture of the seated white nude who touches the back of the kneeling black woman in *La Toilette*. The white woman's contact initiates the psychological and physiological sensations of the interplay of skin touching skin. Skin acts, in the words of psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu, as a "site and a primary means of communicating with others, of establishing signifying relations; it is, moreover, an 'inscribing surface' for the marks left by those others."[409] If touching another human being implies desire, pleasure, and union, then the touching in *La Toilette* suggests not only the union of black and white bodies, but also their commensurability as well. Virey and Figuier, despite their disparaging characterizations of the black female body, had paradoxically acknowledged the agreeable, indeed inviting, aspect of black skin when they commented on its soft and satin-like texture.[410] Admiring descriptions of this nature were frequently reserved only for the *bourgeoise's* complexion which was deemed as smooth as ivory, marble, or velvet.[411]

Obviously, touching constitutes more than a differentiation of the tactile qualities of discrete objects. Eighteenth-century philosopher and empiricist Etienne Bonnot de Condillac in the *Treatise on the Sensations*, 1754, speaks of the desire and the pleasure that results from

[409] Didier Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, trans. Chris Turner (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 40.
[410] Figuier, *The Human Race*, 505: "The skin of Negroes … being in some instances … smooth, satiny, and extremely soft to the touch."
[411] See my chapter on Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus* for nineteenth-century descriptions of the *bourgeoise's* complexion.

touching, and the need to find other bodies to love for the gratification that comes from touching.[412] Through the organ of our skin, touching is foremost connected with sensuality and sexual pleasures. In *La Toilette,* the white woman's gesture of placing her hand on the black woman's back and the boldness of this physical contact, as well as the juxtaposition of the black woman's profiled face against the white woman's breast, would likely have suggested to a contemporary viewer a homoerotic attraction. The theme of sexual intimacy between women enjoyed popularity in nineteenth-century visual culture and literature and scenes of lesbian lovemaking exploited a taboo subject that served to gratify the libidinal fantasies of the presumed male viewer or reader.[413] But it was the Orientalist tradition, summoning images of languid and partially clad women of different ethnicities sequestered together in the bath or the harem that offered irresistible possibilities for depicting imagined scenes of transgressive behavior. The physical relationship between a dark-skinned woman, presumed to adopt the "masculine" role, and a light-skinned "feminine" woman allowed the male viewer to assume the position of voyeur and imagine himself in the scene through the figure of the "masculine" woman.[414]

---

[412] Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Treatise on the Sensations*, 93-94. According to Condillac, touching informs our knowledge of other sensory experiences, and it generates knowledge of our self as an individual, unique and distinct from other objects and beings with which we come into contact. In the *Treatise*, he traces the stages through which the individual moves from the initial touching of oneself to touching another and the pleasure that ensues. Condillac's "sensationalist psychology" continued to influence the vitalist pedagogy at the medical school in Montpellier, and to a lesser extent, the teaching in Paris in the nineteenth century. See Williams, *The Physical and the Moral*, 81-85, and 206.

[413] For example, see Honoré Balzac's *La Fille aux yeux d'or*, 1833-1835; J-A-D. Ingres, *Le Bain turc*, 1862, Musée du Louvre; and Gustave Courbet's *Sleep,* 1866, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris. For analyses of these works, see Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French*, 42-52; Ruth Bernard Yeazell, "Public Baths and Private Harems: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Origins of Ingres's *Bain Turc*," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 111-138; and Faunce and Nochlin, *Courbet Reconsidered*, 175-176.

[414] Melissa Hyde, "In the Guise of History: The Jupiter and Callisto Paintings," in *Making up the Rococo: Francois Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 205, states that in images of lesbian sexuality (her focus is on Boucher's representations of the theme of *Jupiter and Callisto*), "female homoeroticism signals the absence of and the 'need' for men, making both female figures available for erotic appropriation – or so it has been argued." She goes on to assert: "Without denying that this kind of imagery is fully assimilable to heterosexual male fantasy … I want to insist that it can also be understood to call the categories of masculine/feminine and subject/object into question …" On dark-/light-skinned lesbian imagery, also see Maura

Promiscuous and illicit sexuality had been long associated with the "Orient."[415] As historian Derek Hopwood points out, "Western writers who described the Middle East as the home of sodomy also claimed that the harem and *hamman* led to lesbianism."[416] The assertion that lesbianism was a consequence of women confined within the intimate and secluded quarters of the Oriental interior was one that not only characterized the Orient as a place of unnatural and proscribed sexuality, but it also served as the pretext for depicting images of contrived sexual pleasure and indulgence. The visual manifestation of this premise was realized by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres in *Le Bain turc*, 1862 [Figure 51]. Ingres orchestrated an assemblage of sensual (mostly light-skinned) and uncannily similar female bodies engaged in a variety of languorous activities – dancing, sleeping, stretching, making music, grooming, and caressing. Grouped tightly together, with figures overlapping and entwined, the nude bathers offer their bodies in multiple dispositions for the gratification of the male viewer. But I would like to propose that, while a homoerotic subtext is certainly suggested in *La Toilette* and would have been recognized by a contemporary viewer, Bazille resisted the facile temptation to play up excessive homoeroticism in this image.

If we can apply French phenomenologist and philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty's notion of touching to *La Toilette*, I believe we can find another and useful interpretative strategy for the image. Touching implies reciprocity; when we touch, we are touched. The completeness and awareness of union which issues from touching are described by Merleau-Ponty as "a circle

---

Reilly, "Le Vice à la Mode: Gustave Courbet and the Vogue for Lesbianism in Second Empire France" (PhD diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2000).

[415] For an overview of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and French texts which alleged overt lesbianism in the Middle East and the harem, see Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind*, 119-126.

[416] Derek Hopwood, *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East: The British, the French and the Arabs* (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1999), 179.

of the touched and the touching, [in which] the touched takes hold of the touching."[417] This sense of oneness and the willingness to abandon a state of separateness or power "takes hold" of the person initiating the touch. Merleau-Ponty further asserts: "For the first time, the body no longer couples itself up with the world, it clasps another body, applying [itself to it] carefully with its whole extension … the body is lost outside of the world and its goals, fascinated by the unique occupation of floating in Being with another life …"[418]

The circuit of touching that Merleau-Ponty envisions confers little sexual frisson or erotic play to touching. And Bazille's staging of the touch is itself ambiguous. It does not represent an unequivocal homoerotic or transgressive act; in fact, there is little sexual tension and certainly no playful eroticism. Rather than manifest an erotic sensation through the depiction of two women touching, Bazille moves beyond the mere physical gratification that emanates from certain types of touching and evokes acquiescence to touching and being touched that complicates classed or racial relationships. The white woman's gesture of touching the black woman appears deliberate, purposeful; it is not involuntary, risqué, disruptive, or passive. The white hand touching the black woman's back serves, in my view, as the metaphorical fulcrum of the composition.

The black woman reciprocates by leaning towards the seated figure. The two bodies intersect where the silhouetted profile of the black woman is juxtaposed against the seated nude's

---

[417] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible; Followed by Working Notes*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 143. While my interest lies with the reciprocity of touching and the pleasure involved in touching, the risks associated with excessive and/or transgressive behaviors of touching have been the focus of psychoanalysis. Psychoanalyst Didier Anzieu draws on Freud's notion on the prohibition against touching and how society imposes parameters on touching to prevent psychic anxieties from "sexual and aggressive drives." Anzieu further states: "The prohibition on touching separates the region of the familiar, a protected and protective region, from that of the strange, which is troubling and dangerous." While one could argue that the touching of the black woman by the white woman could have raised concerns about lesbian and interracial intimacy, I see Bazille tempering the homoerotic charge in this image. See Anzieu, *The Skin Ego*, 145-146. Also see Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 13, *Totem and Taboo and Other Works*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953), 27-30. Tamar Garb's chapter, "Touching Sexual Difference: *Madame Cézanne in a Red Dress*," in *The Painted Face*, 139-179, draws on Merleau-Ponty's theory of touch and admiration for Cezanne's work in her discussion of Cezanne's visualization of touch and the tactility of his brushwork.

[418] Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, 144.

breast and torso. The black woman's presence and proximity is indicated by a trace of shadow cast on the seated woman's abdomen. The juxtaposition of the black woman's face and the light brown shadow she casts inflect the seated nude's form, alleviating the monochrome of pale hues Bazille employed to paint the nude's torso as well as the icy-white pigment of the drapery and the chalky-colored passages of the coverlet. The black female body does not function as an absolute chromatic opposition to whiteness here, but it helps define the white woman's corporeality. Without the black woman's presence, the seated nude's visibility would be diminished, subsumed into the "bland" whiteness of the drapery and coverlet. In his display of an abundance of objects that appealed to the sense of touch, Bazille redefined the way in which a black female body could be situated in juxtaposition with lighter-skinned women. And Bazille's image could elicit consideration of the black woman as an aesthetically pleasing figure.[419]

Black Beauty

Nineteenth-century racialist science did affirm that the black woman could be, indeed in some instances was, beautiful. This praise was qualified and it was premised on the ranking of beauty vis-à-vis color and texture of skin and hair, and the size and proportions of the body. More significantly, admiration for the black female body was circumscribed by the values that constituted Western aesthetics. When the black female body was deemed pleasing, its aesthetic worth was contingent on its favorable comparison to the female Caucasian body. Naturalist and philosopher Comte de Buffon, whose *Histoire Naturelle* presented one of the first taxonomic histories of the natural world, and who advocated for the unity of species, nevertheless

[419] Grigsby, *Extremities*, 44-46, discusses Benoist's *Portrait d'une négresse*, 1800, as such an attempt to render a black woman as beautiful.

consistently embellished the scientific, dispassionate language of his account of the physical properties of human races with qualitative rhetoric that is unmistakable in its import.

> [T]he Armenians, the Turks, the Georgians, the Mingrelians, the Circassians, and the Europeans at large, are of all others, the most beautiful, the most fair and the most shapely …
>
> … "The women of Circassia," says Struys, "are also are exceedingly fair and beautiful. … [T]heir skin, is white as snow …"[420]

> [The Senegalese] are all very black, well proportioned. … The features of their visage are less harsh than that of the other Negroes; and … among the female sex, of whom the features are far from being irregular. … Their skin, however, is highly delicate, and soft; and, colour alone excepted, we find among them women as handsome as in any other country in the world. They are usually very gay, lively, and amorous. In their amours, they are unconfined …[421]

The above sequence of physiognomic differences progresses from unambiguous to qualified admiration, from the white to the black body, and concludes with a declaration about the moral behavior of Senegalese women. These notions were not easily correctible or challenged, even when the discourse posited affinities between races. For some natural scientists, Buffon and Blumenbach in particular, the fact that such affinities between races existed did not elicit surprise, but the imperative to limit their praise for a black man or woman was, nevertheless, obligatory.

Blumenbach, too, expressed an appreciation for the appearance of certain "negresses," but their appeal was understood as ranked, positioned on a scale that situated the European female at the apex. He writes:

> Of this sort was a female creole with whom I conversed in Yverdun … both [of] whose parents were of [the] Congo. Such a countenance – even in the nose and the somewhat thick lips – was so far from being surprising, that if one could have set aside the disagreeable skin, the same features with a white skin must have

[420] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *The Natural History of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals; with the Theory of the Earth in General*, trans. W. Kenrick, L.L.D. and J. Murdoch, vol. 1 (London: T. Bell, 1775-1776), 217-219.

[421] Ibid., 235-236.

> universally pleased, just as Le Maire says … there are negresses, who, abstraction being made of the colour, are as well formed as our European ladies.[422]

Another example of this attempt to subsume the black woman into a universal European (white) aesthetic is found in historian Jules Michelet's 1860 book, *La Femme*. In the chapter, "The Woman Who Will Love the Most: A Different Race," Michelet orchestrates a metamorphosis for the "true" black woman, an inherently sexualized being, whose somatic features are rescripted so that she better mirrors the appearance of a European. Of this transformation, Michelet declares: "It was a pleasure to me to learn that in [Haiti], through liberty, comfort, and intelligent culture, the *negress* is disappearing, and that without amalgamation. She is becoming the true black woman, with straight nose and thin lips; even her hair is changing."[423]

A black woman could be considered beautiful: "color alone excepted" and "abstraction being made of the colour" are the qualifications pronounced by Buffon and Blumenbach. By the middle of the nineteenth century, within the scientific community of anthropologists, color of skin had lost its authority as the definitive marker of racial difference. Skin color proved to be too unstable; the rubric of white, yellow, and black was inadequate to describe the variations and permutations of color owing to the admission that virtually no race could make the claim of racial purity. In place of skin color, craniology – the measuring and weighing of brain mass – assumed prominence. By this epistemological shift, racial difference was no longer made visible explicitly on the exterior of the body.[424] Rather than rendering the emphasis on skin color meaningless, this redirection in racial theory and science could be seen as having had the

---

[422] Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* in *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, 306-307.

[423] Jules Michelet, *Woman* (*La Femme*), Book II, trans. J. W. Palmer (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1868), 133. Here, Michelet also invokes the efficacy of the civilizing mission of colonialism in which European culture transforms the physically and morally savage Other into a benign being in the colonizer's own image. On this problematic aspect of colonialism, see Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (1994; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 121-131.

[424] On craniology and the efforts of Paul Broca to establish the European brain as superior, see Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 105-141.

opposite effect on aspects of visual and literary culture. Chromatic differences were upheld, even heightened, as we have seen in Gérôme's image, to suggest that the separation of races might still be viable. At the very least, these distinctions denied the black woman the privileged status of idealized beauty.

Other artists chose to assuage the somatic differences between the black female and white female bodies and to conjure a black woman with distinctive (and stereotypical) European features in the manner suggested by Michelet. For instance, Jules-Robert Auguste's *Les amies*, c. 1820s [Figure 52], functioned as a pretext to exploit the homoerotic theme of a light-skinned and dark-skinned woman frolicking in a rococo-inspired landscape. Here the black woman is doubly stripped; not only is she is completely nude, but all aspects of any racial specificity, with the exception of the color of her skin, are effaced as well. François-Léon Benouville's meditation on the theme of *Esther*, 1844 [Figure 53], essentially conformed to a similar pictorial formula that yields no uniquely physiognomic traits of the dark-skinned woman other than a thoroughly monochromatic brown skin color. Of course, these images make no case for a literal transcription of light- or dark-skinned models. Auguste resorted to an erotic playfulness and Benouville's image was merely a banal interpretation of a familiar Orientalist theme.

Delacroix's painting in the Bruyas collection, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment*, 1849 [Figure 41], set an example of how to transgress expectations for the way in which the black female inhabits, comports herself, and is seen in an Orientalist image. Certainly, Delacroix invoked the erotic fantasy of viewing the inaccessible beauties of a harem, their revealed décolletage, plump arms, and exposed legs defined by fluid brushwork and a warm palette. The emphasis on the seductive, light-skinned bodies seen through shimmering, gauzy fabrics is, however, interrupted by the black woman, caught in motion as she strides out of the room. Here

Delacroix affects an oscillation in the way we perceive the darkened image of the standing woman: she is so dramatically backlit that her skin color can be read as merely shadowed *or* black. And her crimson-hued head wrap, with its long, tied end that is draped down her back, and equally luminous carmine-colored belt can be read as signifiers of any nineteenth-century woman's claims to sexual appeal: an adorned head and shapely form.[425]

Bazille's construction of the black female body is not as equivocal about racial difference as Delacroix's, but Bazille is seeking a resolution between the polarities of physiognomic effacement and exaggeration. In his later two images, *Négresse aux pivoines,* Bazille suspends the pretext of the Orientalist/costumed setting in which to situate the black model. Attired in a modest, modern dress, she arranges flowers, absorbed in her task [Figure 39] or, in the second version [Figure 40], acknowledges the viewer while offering the bouquet of peonies she grasps tightly. Juxtaposing the figure with a plenitude of lush blooms of peonies, iris, and tulips, and the immense lustrous vase in the Musée Fabre's image [Figure 39], Bazille risked subordinating the model to the still life, or minimally, diverting attention from the model. Certainly, this has been the consensus of recent scholarship. Hugh Honour's pronouncement that "her black face and hands have no more, if also no less, importance than the flowers"[426] is aligned with Dianne Pitman's assessment that the black woman's presence yields to the luxurious and "more colorful flowers."[427] These interpretations struggle to transcend an equation in which the model's presence does not or cannot equal the color and visual appeal of the flowers. Of course, the

[425] Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby's reading of Delacroix's first *Algerian Women in Their Apartment*, 1834, emphasizes the fabrication of a "white, not black" harem. The black woman's role is to act as an opposition to the languid white women. While I do not disagree with this analysis, I want to call attention to Delacroix's refusal to engage in conventional racial stereotyping of the black female body through the denigrating treatment of her hair, facial profile, and form vis-à-vis his decision to place the black woman with her back to the viewer. See Grigsby, "Orients and Colonies: Delacroix's Algerian Harem" in *The Cambridge Companion to Delacroix*, ed. Beth S. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 69-87.

[426] Honour, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, 4: 206.

[427] Pitman, *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s*, 183.

pairing of a black female model with an arrangement of flowers could have also reduced her to a metaphorical figure that reinforces the universality of the woman of color with nature and fertility. The presumption that the depiction of an anonymous black woman did not merit consideration of her social position within modern life is, I believe, tacitly questioned by Bazille in these images.

In the same manner in which Bazille makes his model's racial identity explicit, he also acknowledges her class identity. As I have stated, the correspondence of the term *négresse* with labor and servitude was prevalent in the nineteenth century. Bazille's images of a black woman wearing a kerchief over hair and a simple white dress arranging or selling flowers would have conjured a domestic servant or member of the lower working classes. The style of her dress – plain, yet "European" – worn by the model in the two *Négresse aux pivoines* would have also situated the figure in the modern city where some women of African descent were employed as domestic help.[428] It is noteworthy that the sight of black women in late nineteenth-century Paris was rather more conspicuous as an ethnological subject in Orientalist painting and photographs (and later in the idigenous villages at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation* and the *Expositions universelles*) or within the brothel, and in these settings the black female body was sexualized and associated with the exotic.[429] Certainly, Bazille's decision to juxtapose his model with the brilliant display of flowers does impart the figure with an exotic sensuality, but the model's sensuality is understated because she is fully dressed. Moreover, while no viewer would have mistaken the black model for anyone but a servant or flower seller, the specificity with which

[428] Pollock, in *Differencing the Canon*, 285, discusses the figure of Laure in Manet's *Olympia* as the "representation of a black woman as a working-class woman in the metropolis, a *black* Parisienne, a *black* faubourienne." Pollock goes on to describe Laure's decidedly non-exotic attire: "The African woman is dressed, but as a European, in cast-offs from the working-class districts' second-hand clothes markets" (294).

[429] For an exploration of this treatment of the black female body, see, among others, Pollock, *Differencing the Canon*, 293-294; Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French*, 71-85; and Willis and Williams, *The Black Female Body*, 35-58

Bazille defined her features transcended the reductive and generic manner in which many late nineteenth-century images of the black woman were realized and further endowed this model with an individualized countenance. He rendered his anonymous black working-class model's appearance with the degree of particularization and decorum frequently reserved for the subject of conventional portraiture. Bazille imparts a singularity of appearance to his model not only through the individualization of her face and hands, but he also explores the variation and gradation of color and tone registered on her skin.

As I have demonstrated, rendering the skin color of a person of African descent continued to be problematic. But Bazille, in these two images, masterfully depicted dark skin as a surface on which the artist could articulate the subtle, shifting range of hue and tonal variation that is inherent in all skin. The model's visage in the Musée Fabre's canvas is composed of a warm and smoky copper brown that progresses to darker tonal values where her face is shrouded in shadow and casts shadow under her chin. A thin arc of a beige tint that articulates her left eyelid and the outline of her mouth declare a complexion composed of light as well as dark pigmentation. In other ways, Bazille renders her skin as a legible surface. Bazille applies a faint streak of blue on the surface of her left hand, the sign of a vein pulsing under the skin, subtly referencing the transparency of her skin, a quality rarely acknowledged in black skin because it was perceived as opaque and thick. Her right palm, poised between the stem of a red peony and the white and pink peony in the vase, is composed of hues of warm beige-yellow, sienna, and highlights of light pinks. The hand, abruptly cut off from the arm hidden behind the bouquet, emerges above the pink and white peony, suggesting a textural and chromatic correspondence between flower and flesh.

We are confronted with a face of greater specificity in the second version of the woman with peonies [Figure 40]. The intense expression of the direct gaze addressed to the viewer and

vivid likeness of the model's facial features announce a compelling presence. Bazille forsakes depicting the model's face in a profiled or three-quarter view that emphasizes her fleshy lips and jaw line. Yet, her full lips and slight prognathism are not denied. Nor are the distinctiveness of her skin color and texture elided, but they are integrated with the arrangement of flowers to form an assemblage of tactile surfaces and hues that is harmonious, not incongruent. As in the rendering of the model's skin in *La Toilette*, color is inscribed everywhere on the model's face and hands. Her complexion reads as a fusion of bronze, lemon-yellow, orange, and pink hues, all of which are analogous to the pigments employed for the peonies, tulips, and roses. If a light-skinned woman's complexion could be compared to the dewy texture and paleness of a pink-blushed rose, could a dark-skinned woman's complexion proffer such a correlation? Perhaps this suggestion is a bit much to allow, but Bazille's treatment of the model's skin, nevertheless, invokes not only an aesthetically pleasing surface, but also one that appeals, as the flowers do, to the sense of touch.[430]

Renatured

On the surface, Bazille's *La Toilette* did not seem to defy expectations for an Orientalist-themed image. It certainly provided the promise of seduction through the labored brushwork that alluded to varied and luxurious textures, including the exposed skin of three female figures. And, it offered a visual hierarchical structure in which the viewer would be able to recognize and assign a value of importance and appeal to each of the three women. If Bazille wanted to invoke absolutes or, at least, oppositional pairings – white/black, feminine/masculine, mistress/servant, beauty/unpleasing countenance –his preliminary concept for *La Toilette* with only two female figures afforded a far

[430] François-Bernard Michel characterizes Bazille's images of the *Négresse aux pivoines* as "the eroticism of skin and color." ("l'érotisme de la chair et de la couleur.") See *Frédéric Bazille*, 249.

better framework for realizing that model. The addition of Lise Tréhot forced a diversion from simplistic dualities and her presence evoked a modern and specific body, one that can be read as a site of hybridity in the image. The exposed skin of this dark-haired woman, attired (metonymically here in relationship to the two other figures) in a cocoa brown and pale pinkish-brown striped dress with a low-cut bodice, displays the sign of roseate-tinged cosmetics on her face (as does the face of the seated nude). But there are other variations of skin coloration on Lise as well: her creamy white chest, the pale yellow hue of her neck, and the slightly reddened hands that grip the Japanese dressing gown. Cosmetics and exposure to the elements not only affect the skin's color and texture, but they also prove how mutable, capricious, and, in some cases, artificial skin color can be. Lise is the reminder that the binarisms of dark-skin and light-skin, "blackness" and "whiteness," and generalization and specificity are not easily or convincingly sustained in this image.

As I have argued, Bazille invested his "*négresse superbe*," still tentatively linked to the tradition of Orientalism in *La Toilette*, with an extraordinary specificity. In the case of this woman who seemingly plays the role of the anonymous *négresse* and whose nude back and profile are offered in place of a frontal pose, Bazille articulated the visible aspect of her body that signified her singularity: her skin. Through her multi-hued skin, a variable surface of luminous flesh and muscle, Bazille rendered this figure as an aestheticized and desirable body. After the completion of *La Toilette*, Bazille retained the services of this model so that he could paint her twice more. We may interpret these depictions of the model in the two *Négresse aux pivoines* as a further retreat from the typologizing of the black woman. Liberated from the Orientalist narrative and her relegation to the role of the semi-nude servant, she is a solitary figure, turned toward the viewer, and dressed in modern attire. Just as her cinnamon-hued skin stood out against the pasty-colored flesh of the seated nude in *La Toilette*, her warm brown skin in the

Négresse aux pivoines images is distinguished emphatically by its contrast with her white frock. In these images, it is her face and hands on which we concentrate: the shadowed three-quarter view of her face in the Musée Fabre's painting [Figure 39], the furrowed brow marking the intensity of her gaze in the Washington representation [Figure 40], the delicately modeled hands in the Montpellier image contrasted with the rough and uneven surface of her hands in the second canvas, and a spectrum of skin tones in both images that range from chestnut brown to a burnished golden yellow. In this chapter, I hope I have shown that Bazille destabilized certain nineteenth-century scientific and aesthetic notions of race that constructed the person of African descent as a type fixed by a constant and invariable skin color. Bazille's depictions of the model who posed for *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines* conjured the illusion of a black woman whose nuanced dark skin color is but one constitutive component of her individual *and* racial identity.

Chapter Four
Masculinity and the Object of Desire in Toulouse-Lautrec's *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*

In a poster for Paris's popular Nouveau Cirque promoting the clown duo of Footit and Chocolat [Figure 54], the black man, Chocolat, affects a swayback posture, his slouching shoulders visually lengthening his arms so that his gloved hands almost touch his bent knees. The pronounced prognathism of his profile suggests the face of a monkey. Trying to maintain composure, he raises his eyes to the apple he cannot see atop his head. Opposite is Footit, wearing a sexually ambiguous costume of puffed sleeves and baggy trousers adorned with a floral pattern. He is outfitted with an imposing phallic conical cap and holds the gun which was employed as a prop in Footit and Chocolat's parody of the legend of William Tell.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the popularity and celebrity of the clown act known as Footit and Chocolat eclipsed most other circus performers in *fin-de-siècle* Paris.[431] Audiences reacted with delight to Chocolat's role as the hapless and willing victim of the threatening, physical humor dispensed by his performing partner, the white clown Footit. Chocolat's face, free from the vivid and glaring paint most clowns applied, was recognizable for its dark, bronze color which set off the white gloves or white coat he frequently wore. His attire consisted of the tailcoat,

[431] While details of Chocolat's early life remain unconfirmed, Franc-Nohain in *Les Memoires de Footit et Chocolat clowns*: *recueillis par Franc-Nohain; illustrations en couleurs de René Vincent* (Paris: P. Lafitte, 1907), 37-83, narrates a picaresque biography of the performer who was born in Cuba, sold as a young boy to a Portuguese merchant, and eventually worked as an unskilled laborer in Bilbao. In Bilbao, Chocolat was noticed by the clown known as Tony-Greace and accompanied him to Paris as his apprentice. In Paris, Chocolat met George Footit and joined him to form the act, Footit and Chocolat, a partnership that lasted for twenty years, 1890-1910. Little if any documentation exists to confirm Chocolat's given name. Franc-Nohain only gives a first name of Raphaël. Sylvie Chalaye in *Nègres en images* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002), 151, identifies Chocolat as Raphaël de Leois. Tristan Rémy in *Les clowns* (Paris: Éditions B. Grasset, 1945), 109, claims Chocolat's surname was Padilla. Chocolat died in Bordeaux in 1917. George Footit (1864-1921), whose real name was Tudor Hall, began his career performing in his father's circus in his native England. His talent as a pantomimist and circus rider attracted the attention of a French circus promoter who convinced him to work in France. In the French circus, Footit adopted the role of the white-faced domineering Clown. Tristan Rémy provides the most comprehensive history of Footit and Chocolat. See "Foottit et Chocolat," *Les clowns*, 104-131. I have found numerous spellings of Footit's last name: Footit, Foottit, or Footitt. I employ the first spelling but abide by the source's spelling when identifying an image or citing a quote.

knee breeches, and top hat worn by domestic servants, a costume that indicated his position as the subordinate in the performance. His exaggerated facial expressions were exploited to convey naiveté and vulnerability. Images of Chocolat rarely deviated from this characterization.

Toulouse-Lautrec's representation of *Chocolat dansant dans un bar* [Figures 55 and 56], 1896, placed conspicuously on the back cover of the weekly humor journal, *Le Rire*,[432] altered the clown's familiar image, and I will argue, the conventional manner in which black male performers were depicted. No longer awkward, mocked, passive, or infantilized, Chocolat, with his left arm on his waist, the right arm extended above his head, and his right leg stretched out behind his body, emulated the graceful pose of a ballet dancer or athlete. Chocolat is given elements of the aesthetically displeasing attributes associated with racialist biology, yet as I will show, Toulouse-Lautrec's depiction of Chocolat also valorized the black male body. Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat the clown, almost unrecognizable in the form-fitting costume of a racing jockey, still retained signs of the stereotyped "black" primitive, but more significantly the depiction of Chocolat afforded the white spectator the pleasure of observing an aestheticized black male body.

Representations of the Black Male Body in Late Nineteenth-Century France

Toulouse-Lautrec depicted Chocolat several times between 1895 and 1899. In all but a few representations, Chocolat is dressed in his familiar clown apparel and his comportment and countenance were determined by the overbearing presence of Footit. In most of these images of Chocolat, Toulouse-Lautrec deployed the distorted, ungainly, comic, caricatured – one could

[432] *Le Rire*, founded by Felix Juven, began publication in 1894. The journal's socially progressive, anti-establishment content catered to an educated audience who appreciated its lampooning treatment of contemporary political figures as well as social conventions.

argue, grotesque[433] – features ascribed throughout the nineteenth century to the black man. While the black male body in nineteenth-century French literary and visual culture was invested with a host of contradictory attributes – savage and comic, passive and virile, feeble-minded and cunning, overtly sexualized and repellent – it was bound to its corporeality and baseness.[434] Representations of Chocolat secured many of these stereotyped characteristics. In 1896, the same year in which Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat appeared on the back cover of *Le Rire*, poet André Ibels good-naturedly mocked the personalities of Footit and Chocolat in his poem, "Clowns." Despite his well-intentioned humor, Ibels employed language that associated the African-Caribbean performer with the Congo – evoking an offensive odor and appearance – and the primate.[435] Indeed, artist Henri-Gabriel Ibels, who created images to accompany the poem, rendered Chocolat's face in one of these representations as an undifferentiated black mass, juxtaposed against the white circus ring so that his profile bears a striking resemblance to that of a gorilla. In underscoring Chocolat's simian gesture and appearance, and his tattered rags tainted by their stench, André Ibels and Henri-Gabriel Ibels corroborated the constancy of the French notion that the person of African descent was by nature primitive.

Another disquieting representation of the black man can be seen in the illustration by Abel Faivre created for *Le Rire* in 1900, titled *Le Courrier de la Mode* (*The Fashion Page*) [Figure 57]. Faivre's image of a "primitive" African orchestrates a number of the identifying marks of the

---

[433] Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of the grotesque offers one way of understanding nineteenth-century efforts to construct racial difference along the axes of white/spiritual/beautiful and black/material/grotesque. He writes: "The essential principle of grotesque realism is degradation, that is, the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, abstract; it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of earth and body in their indissoluble unity." See Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1968), 19-20.

[434] For more on the conflicting attributes of the black male and black masculinity, see Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 141-209. Also see Maurice O. Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men's Literature and Culture, 1775-1905* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

[435] Georges d'Esparbès, André Ibels, Maurice Lefèvre, and Georges Montorgueil, *Les demi-cabots; le café-concert, le cirque, les forains*, illustrations by Henri-Gabriel Ibels (Paris: G. Charpentier et E. Fasquelle, 1896), 158: "Pour parer ces lambeaux de fête: *Chocolat* jalousant son linge [A] puer au Congo, se prête [A]vec un geste lent de singe."

grotesque black male: a dark, lumpish, nude form; enlarged bony hands and feet; lowered brow, bulging eye, swollen lips, and toothy grin. Recumbent and denuded of his clothing, save the hint of a loin cloth, he directs a lascivious grin at the elegantly-dressed Parisiennes (one of whom shields her lower face with her muffler from the black man's returning gaze) who tower above him. They react to his appearance with composure and irony, commenting on the disagreeable state of the black man. The caption under the figures reads: "You will not say that black is in fashion any longer."[436] Few reading *Le Rire* would have been convinced of the ethnographic accuracy of this depiction of an African male, but the image certainly left the impression that this figure functioned as an avatar of the degenerate and primitive state of the black race.[437]

A litany of racialist characterizations circulated in publications as early as the eighteenth century. Even for those who expressed an admiration for non-white races, such as the prominent eighteenth-century natural scientist the Comte de Buffon, the postulates of racialist stereotyping were difficult to avoid. Of the inhabitants of Cape-Verde, off the coast of Senegal, Buffon wrote: "They are strong and robust, but indolent and slothful. … They go almost naked."[438] Although Buffon relied on secondary accounts, primarily travel narratives, to substantiate his claims about indigenous peoples, his work transcended mere cataloguing and reiteration of the physical traits of the African that he appropriated from these sources. Buffon's language is far from reactionary and is balanced by

---

[436] "Tu ne diras plus que le noir est ce qu'il y a de plus habillé." The humor in Faivre's text is derived from the wordplay of *noir* which can be taken to mean the color black in fashion as well as the debased black male in the image. I would like to thank Susan Hiner for her translation of this inscription.

[437] The allusion to the proximity of the black man and lower primates represented one consistent strategy of abasing the Negro in the nineteenth century. One of the most egregious examples of nineteenth-century racist science that argues this position is Julien-Joseph Virey's, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2 (Paris: Crochard, 1824). Virey's findings were drawn from studies of the heads of Caucasians, Negroes, and primates, and from secondary sources. Anthropological science during the second half of the century advanced beyond the untenability of this postulate, but anatomists after 1850 asserted that the white man's brain was more developed than that of the black. For a comprehensive study of this issue on which much nineteenth-century racial thought centered, see Carole Reynaud Paligot, *La république raciale: paradigme racial et idéologie républicaine, 1860-1930* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2006).

[438] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *The Natural History of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals; with the Theory of the Earth in General*, trans. W. Kenrick, L.L.D. and J. Murdoch, vol. 1 (London: T. Bell, 1775-1776), 238.

an awareness of alternative definitions of beauty and worth: "strong," "robust," "shapely," and "content," act as counterpoints to the less flattering descriptions that formed the basis of his study.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the contentious nature of racialist rhetoric reached a crescendo because physical evidence – particularly first-hand access to the African body – was now available for intense scrutiny.[439] Late nineteenth-century racialist commentary recycled tired and stereotyped notions of the behavior and physical traits of the person of African descent, and as they were repeated and embellished, these claims remained persuasive. Physician and scientist Louis Figuier in *Les races humaines*, published in English translation as *History of the Human Race*, 1872, summarily recapitulated much of the earlier racialist science that had been devised by authorities such as racial theorist Julien-Joseph Virey, Dutch naturalist, anatomist, and artist Peter Camper, and anthropologist Paul Broca. Their efforts had securely established the superiority of the European and the inferiority of the black through dispositions on beauty and ugliness and by quantifying the angle of the face and the weight of the brain. Figuier's generalized descriptions of the African's physical characteristics reinforced the conclusions of contemporary racialist science in language easily understood by a lay audience:

> Several are bow-legged, almost all have but little calf, half-bent knees, the body stooped forward, and a tired gate.[440]
>
> But by reason of his retreating forehead and prominent jaws the Negro only exhibits a facial angle from sixty-one and one quarter to sixty-three degrees, approaching that of a monkey …
>
> This proportionate weakness of intelligence, revealed to us by the smallness of the facial angle in the Negro, is confirmed by an examination of his brain.[441]

---

[439] For an excellent synthesis of endeavors to substantiate the claim of an anatomical parallel between the black and simians, see Reynaud Paligot, "Les Fondements de l'inégalité face aux enjeux idéologiques: origine simienne et polygénisme," in *La République raciale*, 33-43.

[440] Louis Figuier, *The Human Race* (New York: Appleton, 1872), 501.

[441] Ibid., 506. Camper (1722-1789) is credited with devising the method for measuring the facial angle which ascertained the degree of flatness or protrusion of the lower jaw. Prognathism indicated a projection of the lower jaw while an orthognathous face had a relatively vertical profile. During the nineteenth century, one of the determinants of human intelligence was based on this calculation. It was generally claimed that Europeans had an orthognathous facial angle between seventy-six and eighty-one degrees. Any measurement below that baseline was believed to

> The natives of Dahomey, a Negro kingdom extending along the shores of the Gulf of Guinea, distinguish themselves among all other blacks by their callous and revolting humanity. To kill and to slay is to them a pleasure …[442]

Figuier devotes a number of pages to describing the Dahomeans – in a sense, they represented the epitome of the savage – ratcheting up the fear and apprehension about the people living in this West African kingdom (present-day Benin) in which France had secured a presence since the mid-nineteenth century. Recent military victories in West Africa, most notably the defeat of the Dahomean army in 1892, and the continued annexation of African territory, provided entrepreneurs in Paris with ample material for the staging of spectacles – for example, mock combat between French soldiers and African warriors – as well as quotidian activities at a variety of sites. The savage and hideous African no longer inhabited the imagination, but assumed the role of a living curiosity readily available to be seen.

The promotion of France's scientific and colonial enterprise afforded Parisians the opportunity for direct observation of Africans and other "exotic" populations at installations such as the *zoos humains* and at the state-sponsored international expositions. The dwarfed palm trees and fencing in the background of Faivre's image alluded to the properties that were employed to stage ethnographic exhibitions, such as the "native villages," organized for the 1878 and 1889 Paris *Expositions universelles* and those at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation.*[443] In the controlled environments of the zoological garden and the *exposition universelle,* crowds of Parisians

---

indicate inferior intelligence. Figuier also noted that the facial angle of sculpture from classical Greece measured ninety degrees representing the epitome of beauty and intelligence.

[442] Figuier, *The Human Race,* 510.

[443] *Le Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation,* founded in 1860, began presenting ethnological exhibitions in 1877 with the staging of a group of Nubians from Eastern Africa. Rosalyn Poignant in *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 115, states that the attendance at the *Jardin zoologique* reached 800,000 in 1877, an increase of 200,000 over the previous year. More exhibitions of this type would follow. Also see William H. Schneider, "The Ethnographic Exhibitions of the Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires,* ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Fordick, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 142-150.

observed the exotic Other from behind a fence (reinforcing the notion of a human zoo and ostensibly protecting the onlookers from the savage on the opposite side) or were free to walk among and gaze upon what they perceived as the "real" thing: recruited *indigènes* who were brought from French colonies in Africa – Senegal, the Congo, and Gabon– and installed in constructed habitats as part of colonial pavilions.[444] Significant numbers of Parisians attended these exhibitions, many to satisfy their curiosity and for entertainment rather than an educational experience, but we should not underestimate the degree to which the public's impression was also shaped by writers and artists who solidified perceptions of the African through exaggerated portrayals in image and text.

In particular, depictions of the Ashantis, who performed a war dance as part of their daily program at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation*, exploited what marketers asserted was the untamed, uncivilized, and aggressive nature of these people. Émile Lévy's interpretation of the Ashantis – a West African society living in the present-day state of Ghana – in a promotional lithograph, *Le Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation, Achantis* [Figure 58], 1887, facilitated the impression of tribal life, replete with huts and semi-nude men and women attired in little else but animal skins save the scant adornment of jewelry and animal horns that call attention to their state of undress. The standing Ashanti warrior in the foreground, twisting as he wields his spear and shield above his head, is an explicit reference to what was upheld as a trait of many African tribes: their predisposition towards warfare and violent behavior.

Writing in 1887 for the influential and widely-read *Journal des débats*, conservative theater critic and playwright Jules Lemaître was unrelenting in his disdain for the Ashantis at the *Jardin d'acclimatation*. They are "hideous," Lemaître declared. "In sum, these good Ashantis are

[444] On the colonial pavilions at the *Expositions universelles* and human zoos, see Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, eds., *Zoos humains XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2002); Pascal Blanchard, Éric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron, *Le Paris noir* (Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2001), 17-35; and Dana S. Hale, *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples, 1886-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 9-22.

unpleasant to see, not because they have heads [like] animals, but because with these heads they, however, appear to be men."[445] Later in this essay, Lemaître amplified his adverse perception of the Ashantis: "The men, with guttural screams, the screams of savages (naturally), play at war, simulating battle and massacres. … One can only sense the blind display of animal forces."[446] Lemaître was not the first to express repulsion for the African. What is troubling, however, about Lemaître's pronouncements against the Ashanti performers at the *Jardin d'acclimatation* is that he is loath to admit that they are human; indeed, their humanity is itself debatable. His racist and invective review advanced this putative definition of the African for many Parisians.

The seemingly dissimilar goals of popular culture and the scientific community intersected in the presentation of exhibitions of indigenous peoples at the *Jardin d'acclimatation.*[447] Prominent anthropologist and polygenist Paul Topinard granted legitimacy to the exhibition of the Hottentots at the *Jardin* in 1888,[448] commending the organizers for providing scientists opportunities to strengthen current empirical studies focusing on racial differences. Artists, too, he claimed, benefited from the chance to depict these unusual specimens and the casual visitor could meditate on the fate of a "race" that was destined to disappear

[445] Jules Lemaître, "Les Achantis au Jardin d'acclimatation," *Journal des débats* (September 19, 1887), reprinted in *Impressions de théâtre*, vol. 1 (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1892-1901), 340-349: "Les Achantis sont affreux. … En somme, ces bons Achantis sont déplaisants à voir, non parce qui'ils ont des têtes d'animaux, mais parce que, ayant ces têtes, ils ont cependant l'air d'être des hommes" (341).

[446] Ibid., 343: "Les hommes, avec des cris gutturaux, des cris de sauvages (naturellement), jouent à la guerre, simulent des combats et des massacres. … On n'y sent que le déploiement aveugle de forces animales."

[447] Schneider in "The Ethnographic Exhibitions of the Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation," 144, states that after initial support from the scientific community, especially the Société d'anthropologie de Paris, for the ethnological exhibitions at the *Jardin zoologique*, by the early 1880s, some members of the Société began to question these displays' worth for their studies of comparative human anatomy. Many anthropologists rightly perceived the exhibitions as entertainment with little scientific value.

[448] I discuss in chapter three the most famous Hottentot, the eponymous "Hottentot Venus," Saartjie Baartman, a Khoikhoi woman who was put on display in England and France during the early nineteenth century, as well as her dissection by anatomist Georges Cuvier. The Khoikhoi people, a tribe from south Africa, were called Hottentots during the nineteenth century.

because it could not "adapt to new conditions."[449] Throughout Paris, the colonial pavilions, as well as the theater, the music hall, and the circus – and the wealth of images that promoted these popular entertainments – presented the black man (and woman) as an objectified commodity, passively and deferentially performing expected roles, literally confined to the spaces in which he performed, locked into a static and unchanging Otherness. The repetition of the behavior and appearance of the black male (or any other stereotyped racialized Other), what Homi Bhabha calls the "arrested, fixated form of representation that [denies] the play of difference,"[450] is meant to summon a being that is "knowable" and undifferentiated, and to negate the uniqueness of the stereotype's identity. Yet, as Bhabha explains, the constant reiteration of the Other's fixed characteristics and forms of behavior implies that fixing the nature of the stereotyped cannot be assured.[451] While the perpetrators of stereotyping do not concede the futility of securing an abject identity for the racialized Other, Bhabha contends that their relationship with the stereotyped is fraught with ambivalence, a sense of fear and fascination, "mastery and pleasure," "anxiety and defense."[452] More significantly, the "*mode of representation of otherness*"[453] discloses the entanglements that are implicated between the Self and the Other. In my view, the mode of representation of the black male in Toulouse-Lautrec's image of *Chocolat dansant dans un bar* evokes the ambivalent nature of the stereotype. While not free from racist ideology, Toulouse-Lautrec's image does not fully subscribe to the facile contemporary constructions of

[449] Paul Topinard, "Les Hottentots au Jardin d'acclimatation de Paris," *La Nature* 16, no. 795 (August, 11, 1888): 167. "Les indigènes de l'Afrique australe que le Jardin d'Acclimatation nous invite à visiter sont intéressants … pour le penseur songeant que le restes humains d'un autre âge sont condamnés à disparaître, parce qu'ils ne savant pas s'adapter aux conditions nouvelles …"

[450] Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," *The Location of Culture* (1994; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 107.

[451] Ibid., 95.

[452] Ibid., 107.

[453] Ibid., 97: "What does need to be questioned, however, is the *mode of representation of otherness*."

the black male body which confined it to the "biological,"[454] and the primitive. Instead, Toulouse-Lautrec depicts a figure that is, for the most part, poised, elegant, and aestheticized: a self-possessed black man in the attire of a modern (white) athlete.

At the Circus

It would be fair to characterize the nineteenth-century circus as the locus where the grotesque, the erotic, and the phantasmatic intersected and where, in the mayhem and illusion of the performance, the certainty of class, gender, and racial hierarchies were audaciously transgressed. Guy de Maupassant exploits the equivocal, fluid nature of gender and race within the context of the circus in the short story, "Mamma Stirling," written between 1890 and 1891. In this work, Maupassant explores the emotional and physical demise of a circus rider, James Stirling, whose ultimate descent is precipitated by the suicide of his adult son. In the tragedy, Maupassant's protagonist experiences two blows to his selfhood and identity. He first assumes the role and title of "mamma" to his son after his wife's death. And tethered to the character's gender reversal is the "race" reversal of his stage persona when he assumes the "grotesque" characteristics of a hybrid Negro-mulatto woman in the circus ring. Stirling humiliates himself, literally and metaphorically, by lowering himself to perform in blackface and woman's dress in the circus.

Maupassant's opening pages introduce a frightful and erotic spectacle at the Nouveau Cirque in which the "real" clown duo of Footit and Chocolat are paired with Maupassant's fictional performers, human as well as animal. Stirling metamorphosizes from white male to Negro in woman's clothing; Footit's whiteface is altered to black; female dancers emerge as hideous, colorfully attired monkeys; and Chocolat is transformed from buffoon to object of

[454] I borrow the term from Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 167: "The Negro symbolizes the biological."

desire. The slippages of identity are numerous and all are played out in the opening sequence of the short story:

> Footit, the clown, was leaning against the piano. His blackened face, and his mouth that looked like the red gash from a saber cut, and his wide-open eyes, all expressed feelings of the most extravagant emotion, while some negroes squatted on the ground and accompanied the orchestra by strumming on some yellow, empty gourds.
>
> But what made the women and the children laugh most in the pantomime of the "New Circus," was the incessant quarrel between an enormous Danish hound and a poor old supernumerary, who was blackened like a negro minstrel and dressed like a mulatto woman. The dog was always annoying him, following him, and snapping at his legs and at his old wig with his sharp teeth, and he tore his coat and his silk pocket-handkerchief whenever he could get hold of it. The man would positively allow himself to be molested and bitten, playing his part with dull resignation, with the mechanical unconsciousness of a man who has come down in the world, and who gains his livelihood as best he can, and who has already endured worse things than that.[455]
>
> Horrible, hairy monkeys, grimacing under their red and blue masks, had invaded the arena, and with their hair hanging down on their bare shoulders, looking very funny with their long tails, their gray skin tights and their velvet breeches, these female dancers twisted, jumped, hopped, and drew their lascivious and voluptuous circle more closely round Chocolat, who shook the red skirts of his coat, rolled his eyes, and showed his large, white teeth in a foolish smile, as if he were the prey to irresistible desire, and yet terribly afraid of what might happen …[456]

The circus promised the pleasure of witnessing the physical and mesmerizing exploits of its acrobats, equestrians, animal trainers, and clowns. While the element of surprise in an act or the inauguration of a new routine met with the public's approval, circus goers favored consistency and repetition in performances. Clown historian Tristan Rémy attributes Footit and Chocolat's successes to their decision to uphold the audience's expectations.[457] Some superficial aspects of the duo's attire and the narrative framework varied, but the foundation of the

---

[455] Guy de Maupassant, "Mamma Stirling," in *The Complete Works of Guy Maupassant. Mad and Other Short Stories*, trans. Alfred de Sumichrast, Adolphe Cohn, Henri C. Olinger, Albert M. Cohn-McMaster, and Dora Knowlton Ranous (New York: Leslie-Judge, 1917), 111-112.

[456] Ibid., 113.

[457] Tristan Rémy, "Foottit et Chocolat," in *Les clowns*, 104-131. Rémy notes that after Footit and Chocolat left the Nouveau Cirque to explore briefly solo careers in 1905, neither clown enjoyed the same level of success as they did performing together. Also see Charles Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques," 1855, in *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968), 376: "Le public français n'aime guère être dépaysé." ("The French public does not like to be confused.")

performance remained the same: Footit's behavior towards Chocolat rarely strayed from that of the menacing bully. While Chocolat played many parts, "a Negro emperor, a slave, a eunuch, or a servant,"[458] his reactions to Footit were marked by his docility and servility. The unsettling element of Maupassant's fictional Nouveau Cirque consists in its departures from type: white is now black, male is now female. A clown might deign to parody a woman by donning exaggerated female attire, but certainly one would not expect to see the once handsome and athletic equestrian James Stirling so utterly debased. This sentiment is underscored by the remark of one of Maupassant's female characters, a *bourgeoise* attending the circus, who does not recognize James Stirling: "Wherever did they unearth that horrible, grotesque figure?"[459] What could be more tragic than to see a once vital and virile white male vanish and re-emerge in the guise of mulatta pursued by a pernicious dog?

The Nouveau Cirque, where Maupassant's story is set and where Footit and Chocolat performed during the 1890s, was indeed a newly established venue and the youngest entrant among the four other major circuses in Paris competing for audiences.[460] The impresario Joseph Oller, probably best known for founding the legendary Moulin Rouge in 1889, opened the Nouveau Cirque on the fashionable rue Saint-Honoré in 1886 on the former site of the Bal Valentino. Rémy's history reminds us that Oller spared no expense in outfitting the Nouveau Cirque with electrical lighting and installing a large pool for the staging of aquatic pantomime.[461] Its audience was composed primarily of the bourgeoisie living in the central *quartiers* of Paris

[458] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 119: "C'est à Chocolat qu'étaient confiés, d'autre part, dans les pantomimes, les emplois d'empereur nègre, d'esclave, d'eunuque ou de serviteur."
[459] Maupassant, "Mamma Stirling," 112.
[460] The other rival circuses in Paris after 1880 were the Cirque d'Eté, the Cirque d'Hiver, the Cirque Fernando, and the Hippodrome de l'Alma.
[461] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 95.

who could afford the higher admission.[462] The working classes, particularly those of "la famille montmartoise,"[463] were not deprived of entertainments: the less-fashionable, but enormously popular Cirque Fernando on the Boulevard de Rochechouart and café-concerts such as Aristide Bruant's *Le Mirliton*, also in the eighteenth arrondisement, catered to their tastes and limited incomes. The Nouveau Cirque, with its well-appointed seating, offered the middle class a fashionable and comfortable venue in which to watch the frivolities and excitement of circus acts performing in one ring rather than on the grand multiple-ring arenas. Indeed, the Nouveau Cirque boasted one of the more intimate spaces for a circus; its seating capacity was less than three thousand in comparison to the ten thousand seats that filled the Hippodrome de l'Alma.

The audience's enthusiasm for the circus was in large part due to the reputation of the performers – some of whom assumed the status of celebrity such as Footit and Chocolat – as well as the exuberant and, at times, dangerous nature of the acts of trapeze artists, acrobats, equestrians, animal trainers, and clowns. The circus held a fascination not only for modern audiences, but also for a number of writers – Théodore de Banville, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Maupassant, and Théophile Gautier, for example – whose work conferred an element of legitimacy and pathos to this garish and, at times, unruly form of entertainment.[464] Despite the disparity between the social class of the performers and the audience, writers and artists were

---

[462] For more on the entertainment divide between the working classes and the bourgeoisie, see Walter L. Adamson, *Embattled Avant-Gardes: Modernism's Resistance to Commodity Culture in Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 117-118.

[463] Noëlle Giret, *Les arts du cirque au XIXe siècle* (Arcueil: Éditions Anthèse, 2001), 18.

[464] Louisa E. Jones argues in her study of the nineteenth-century French circus that a "new respectability and prestige" emerged after mid-century as performances adopted a less strident tenor. She also discusses the profitability of the circus and the nature of salaries paid to some performers. See *Sad Clowns and Pale Pierrots: Literature and the Popular Comic Arts in Nineteenth-Century France* (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1984), 141-145. For a survey of the artist's identification with the clown, see Jean Clair, ed., *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown*. exh. cat., trans. Marcia Couëlle (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2004), especially 170-171 for the appeal the circus had for Toulouse-Lautrec. Phillip Dennis Cate's essay, "The Cult of the Circus," in Barbara Stern Shapiro, et al., *Pleasures of Paris, Daumier to Picasso*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, and D.R. Godine, 1991), 38-46, provides a succinct, but detailed, history of the nineteenth-century circus vis-à-vis a number of images of the circus by nineteenth-century artists.

intrigued by, even empathized with, the circus performers whose off-stage lives they could imagine as melodramatic and pathetic. Maupassant's short story represents one such contrived narrative. Edmond de Goncourt's novel, *Les Frères Zemganno*, 1879, relates the story of two brothers, gymnast-acrobats in the circus, dedicated to perfecting their art and to each other. The central plot revolves around the fall and subsequent paralysis of the younger brother and the sacrifice of the elder brother who suspends his career to become caretaker for his injured sibling. This tribute to fraternal devotion has been interpreted as a veiled reference to the collaborative efforts and closeness of Edmond and his brother, Jules. But at its heart, the novel is a meticulous study of the physical demands and mental discipline of circus gymnasts and offers a sympathetic depiction of circus performers who were associated with the lower social orders.[465] Twenty years earlier in their *Journal*, the Goncourt brothers valorized the circus and the skill of the circus performer: "The theater where we go is the Circus. There, we see the [equestrian] jumpers and the clowns … who do their job and their duty: basically, the only actors whose talent is either indisputable, absolute as mathematics, or even better, perilous as a mid-air somersault … And we see them, these courageous individuals, risk their lives in the air for some applause, we see them with a certain kind of curious savagery which, at the same time, moves [one] to sympathetic pity, as if these people were of our race. …"[466] For the interpreter of the circus – the impresario, the writer, and the artist – the staging of the circus could be employed as a metaphorical surface onto which a number of cultural and personal values could be projected.

---

[465] Katherine Ashley, *Edmond de Goncourt and the Novel: Naturalism and Decadence* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 87-106.

[466] Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal de Goncourt: mémoires de la vie littéraire, 1851-1861*, vol. 1 (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1887), 291:"Le théâtre où nous allons est le Cirque. Là, nous voyons des clowns, des sauteurs … qui font leur métier et leur devoir: au fond, les seuls acteurs dont le talent soit incontestable, asbolu comme les mathématiques ou mieux encore comme le saut périlleux. … Et nous les voyons, ces braves, risquer leurs os dans les airs pour attraper quelques bravos, nous les voyons avec je ne sais quoi de férocement curieux en même temps que de sympathiquement apitoyé, – comme si ces gens étaient de notre race …"

Audiences witnessed athletic skill, heroics, honor, and debasement in the circus ring as Maupassant's and Goncourt's portrayals attest. But audiences were also regaled by the sight of cruelty, an intrinsic element of the clown's repertoire. Writing about the English pantomime clown in 1855, Baudelaire described the exaggerated gestures, boisterous laugh, and ghoulish makeup that made the clown a source of a fascinating terror:

> It seemed to me that the distinctive sign of this genre of comedy was violence. … The English Pierrot arrived like a tempest, tumbled like a fool, and when he laughed, his laughter made the room tremble; his laughter resembled a cheerful thunderclap. … Over his powdered face, he was crudely painted, without gradation, without transition, [with] two enormous passages of pure red. The mouth was enlarged by a feigned extension of the lips by means of two broad stripes of carmine. … It was truly an exhilarating laughter, something terrible and irresistible.[467]

Footit and Chocolat's act was premised on aspects of the conventions of the English Pierrot: exaggerated costume, makeup (applied only to Footit's face), comportment, countenance, and expression. But Footit and Chocolat added to the nonsensical, and at times, frightening, behavior of the English clown, two other elements: aggression and violence.

Footit et Chocolat

Footit's violent behavior towards Chocolat was hardly a novelty in the late nineteenth-century circus. The acrobatic, aerialist, and pantomime troupe known as the Hanlon-Lees – six British siblings who performed to great acclaim in England, the United States, and France in the second half of the nineteenth century – established an unsettling precedent for the enactment of a

[467] Charles Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire et généralement du comique dans les arts plastiques," 376: "Il m'a semblé que le signe distinctif de ce genre de comique était la violence. … Le Pierrot anglais arrivait comme la tempête, tombait comme un ballot, et quand il riait, son rire faisait trembler la salle; ce rire ressemblait à un joyeux tonnerre. … Par-dessus la farine de son visage, il avait collé crûment, sans gradation, sans transition, deux énormes plaques de rouge pur. La bouche était agrandie par une prolongation simulée des lèvres au moyen de deux bandes de carmin. … C'était vraiment une ivresse de rire, quelque chose terrible et d'irrésistible." The nineteenth-century French Clown is frequently perceived as the successor of the early nineteenth-century English pantomime clown, the Pierrot, to which Baudelaire refers, and the Pierrot of the Commedia dell'Arte, both recognized by their baggy costume and conspicuously whitened face.

host of illusionary macabre scenes including decapitation and mutilation. A *New York Times* review of an 1881 performance in New York belies the gruesome tenor of some of their more graphic pantomimes. In this passage, the reviewer notes with amusement the ludicrous nature of the injury inflicted on one of the Hanlon-Lees: "When one of them opens a trunk another promptly shuts the lid down upon his neck and sits upon it, but that seems to occasion scarcely any inconvenience to the owner of the neck."[468]

Rémy informs us that the *mise-en-scène* of Footit and Chocolat's sketches was orchestrated by Footit whose goal was to increase the visibility and the role of the clown in the circus. Rémy credits Footit with elevating the role of the clown over the acrobats and equestrians who were considered the premier circus acts prior to 1890. Clowning was no longer relegated to serve as an interlude between equestrian or acrobatic feats; by the last decade of the nineteenth century, clowning had achieved parity within the hierarchy of circus acts. Dialogue was now introduced and marked a departure from the improvisational format in which many clown acts had been traditionally performed. Although Footit and Chocolat did not master French pronunciation, the economy of their dialogue and the brusque nature of their slapstick never left the meaning of their sketches in doubt.

Footit was a master of banter. If Chocolat declared he was thirsty but had no money, Footit would rebuke his partner: "You have no money? Then, you are not thirsty." This slight was followed by the threat of violence: "Chocolat, I am going to be forced to slap you."[469] The spectacle of physical harm in the Hanlon-Lees's performances – at its extreme the mounting of a

---

[468] *The New York Times*, September 13, 1881. For more on the Hanlon-Lees, see Peta Tait, *Circus Bodies: Cultural Identity in Aerial Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 25-28; and Mark Cosdon, *The Hanlon Brothers: From Daredevil Acrobatics to Spectacle Pantomime, 1833-1931* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009).

[469] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 116: "Vous n'avez pas d'argent? Alors vous n'avez pas soif! … Chocolat, je vais être obligé de vous gifler."

nightmarish decapitation scene – mesmerized audiences because it was understood to be an illusionist trick. In the presentation of Footit and Chocolat's scenes, the slap to the face was real. Writing almost thirty years after the deaths of Footit and Chocolat, Rémy admits the insidious nature of Footit's behavior in the ring. He writes: "[T]here was in Foottit's game a predisposition towards violence that restricted the role of Chocolat to that of a punching-bag of the first order. Of the violence and its progression: contempt, maliciousness, a joy in tormenting, Foottit … is the master despot. … Foottit's authority over Chocolat was considerable, imperious, tyrannical."[470] Another sketch began with Footit repeatedly berating Chocolat as an idiot. Screaming at him through a megaphone, and receiving no reaction, Footit took Chocolat by the shoulders, striking his head while giving the audience the impression that he was puncturing Chocolat's eardrum. After this abuse, Chocolat, "blissfully smiling, replied to him calmly: 'I heard you the first time.'"[471] Yet, audiences, according to Rémy, found the act amusing and Footit's behavior harmless. After all, Chocolat gladly accepted his punishment and, regardless of how that punishment manifested itself, it did not evoke a sense of tragedy.[472]

The staging of Footit's sadistic dominance over the servile Chocolat at the Nouveau Cirque, where they performed between 1890 and 1910, functioned as part of the tradition in which the white-faced Clown, whose size was amplified by a voluminous costume, insults and berates his simpleton partner, known as the Auguste.[473] The pairing of Footit, whose artificially whitened

[470] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 116: "[I]l y avait dans le jeu de Foottit une prédisposition à la violence qui rétrécissait le rôle de Chocolat à être un encaisseur de premier ordre. A la violence et à son cortège: la canaillerie, la méchanceté, la joie de tourmenter, Foottit … est le maître despote. … L'autorité de Foottit sur Chocolat fut considérable, impérieuse, tyrannique."

[471] Ibid., 115: "Chocolat, souriant béatement, lui répondait avec calme: 'J'avais entendu la première fois.'"

[472] Ibid. "Les spectateurs du Nouveau-Cirque n'y voyaient nulle malice et trouvaient la chose très drôle." Rémy, 119, also points out that when Footit and Chocolat performed at venues whose audiences were working class, the spectators were not receptive to Footit's victimization of Chocolat.

[473] The Auguste, whose clown ancestry may also be traced to the stock character of Harlequin, acted as the buffoon and foil to the Clown. His antics served as the pretext for the slapstick comedy in which the Clown

visage was accentuated by conspicuously blackened eyebrows and nostrils and a grimacing crimson-hued mouth, and Chocolat not only inflected their act with racial opposition but also served as a metonym for white mastery and black submission within France's growing colonial enterprise in Africa, as well the relationship between the French and the newly-arrived *indigènes* in the metropole. In his autobiography, Jean Cocteau recalled attending the Nouveau Cirque as a child and seeing the performance of Footit and Chocolat. Mediated by distance and time, and contextualized within the imagination of a child, his reminiscence is, nevertheless, defined by the dazzling, masterful figure of Footit exploiting the feeble-minded Chocolat: "Footit had the spangled costume, the grace, the charm, the fame, and the glamour of a toreador. … Chocolat, stupid Negro in tight-fitting, black silk knee breeches and a red morning coat, served as the excuse for bullying and blows to the face."[474] How convenient for Footit to work with a simpleton partner whose stage name and presence always summoned blackness in the mind of the audience.

Toni Morrison's disquisition on the recurring "Africanist" presence in (white) American literature provides a useful strategy for understanding the resonance that Chocolat's fixed presence as a *nègre* clown, overwhelmed by the monumental stature of the white-faced Footit, had with metropolitan French bourgeois audiences. Morrison writes:

> These images of impenetrable whiteness need contextualizing to explain their extraordinary power, pattern, and consistency. Because they appear almost always in conjunction with representations of black or Africanist people who are dead, impotent, or under complete control, these images of blinding whiteness seem to function as both antidote for and meditation on the shadow that is companion to

---

humiliates his slow-witted partner. For the history of the French Clown and the Auguste, see Rémy, "Naissance de l'Auguste," in *Les clowns*, 64-82; and Giret, *Les arts du cirque au XIXe siècle*, 73.

[474] Jean Cocteau, *Portraits-souvenir, 1900-1914* (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1953), 70-71: "D'un toréador, Footit avait les paillettes, la souplesse, le charme, la gloire et le prestige. … Chocolat, nègre stupide en culotte de soie noire collante et frac rouge, servait de prétexte aux brimades et aux taloches."

> this whiteness – a dark and abiding presence that moves the hearts and texts of American literature with fear and longing.[475]

Whiteness offers "the fantasy of wholeness" as Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks suggests in her psychoanalytic study of race.[476] Without the raced Other, the dominant (white) culture's sense of privilege and "exceptionality" is undermined by a "lethal sameness."[477] To assuage the anxiety that is catalyzed by encounters with a racial Other that may embody dissimilar somatic features, the dominant culture fixates on perceived and imagined differences – color of skin, angle and shape of face, size of head, body proportions, texture of hair – amplifies them and imposes them indiscriminately on the image of the racialized Other. Conversely, whiteness must undergo a process of reification to assert its visibility. Footit's vivid and excessively whitened face, in the context of his partnership with a black man, can be seen as one way in which the praxis of racial typing was articulated in the *fin-de-siècle*.

The nineteenth-century clown's white makeup deliberately disguised identity and the exaggerated facial features outlined by the greasepaint limited the clown's range of emotions or facial expressions. With his face frozen in expression and rigidly set, the white-faced clown established a tenor for the performance; this clown did not react as much as it acted. For

---

[475] Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 33.

[476] Kaplana Seshardri-Crooks, *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race* (London: Routledge, 2000), 4-8. Seshardri-Crooks's interpretation of Lacan, whose work she acknowledges did not address racial difference, situates whiteness as the controlling signifier of racial difference imposing a hierarchical scale with, for example, "yellow" and "black" in positions of inferior ranking. If whiteness is perceived as an artificial or historical construct, it loses its position of authority and mastery. For that reason, whiteness needs the racialized Other. She writes: "Race identity is about the sense of one's exclusiveness, exceptionality and uniqueness. … Race must therefore disavow or deny knowledge of its own historicity, or risk surrendering to the discourse of exceptionality, the possibility of wholeness and supremacy" (7-8).

[477] Ibid., 8: "Visible difference in race has a contradictory function. If it protects against a lethal sameness, it also facilitates the possibility of that sameness through the fantasy of wholeness." The acknowledgement and disavowal of difference is taken up by Homi Bhabha in "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," *The Location of Culture*, 96, in which he reiterates the ambivalent nature of colonial discourse: "Only then does it become possible to understand the *productive* ambivalence of the object of colonial discourse – that 'otherness' which is at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and identity."

example, a lithograph by the caricaturist known as Sem, produced to promote Footit's engagement at the *Folies-Bergère* in 1906 [Figure 59] and the 1894 lithograph, *Footit et Chocolat* [Figure 60], by Toulouse-Lautrec, are illustrative of two approaches that succeed in conveying the broadly defined face of the white-faced clown. In Sem's image, Footit's face is suspended in a grimacing expression articulated by the gashing diagonal lines of vermillion pigment that indicate his mouth. Footit's ink-black brows visually rhyme with the harsh gold frown lines that extend downward. Competing with the garishly painted mouth and eyebrows is the face's uncompromising, chilling whiteness. Certainly, a clown's face could be painted to evoke a range of expressions – sadness, surprise, anger – but the unnaturally whitened and harshly painted lips and eyebrows hint at something surreal, and they certainly do not yield any sense of the individual. Chocolat's face and animated expressions, which were not concealed by the layers of grease paint worn by most clowns, granted the black performer a degree of specificity and individuality that was typically suppressed in images of the black man and, in the context of their circus act, denied to Footit. Paradoxically, it was Chocolat who would become the more celebrated of the two. Even before joining Footit, Chocolat, according to Rémy, "became a comic figure very prominent [in the public's eye]."[478]

Photographs of Footit and Chocolat taken in 1900 corroborate only elements of Cocteau's recollection. The photograph taken by the Walery studio in Paris [Figure 61] confirms unexpectedly that Footit and Chocolat were of similar height and build. Footit's imposing and formidable size in Toulouse-Lautrec's lithograph (and in Cocteau's recollection) represented a pictorial aggrandizement of the clown's form. Footit's costume in the Walery photograph – plaid knickerbockers and a cropped jacket that exposes a wide Peter Pan collar – suggested a male

[478] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 111: "Chocolat devint bientôt un personage comique très en vue." Before Chocolat became Footit's partner, he made a reputation for himself as the Auguste to well-known Clown Tony-Greace.

child's attire rather than that of the irascible aggressor in the traditional clown costume of baggy pantaloons that evoked awe in Cocteau. Indeed, the comportment of Footit – knock-kneed, slightly bent backward as he glances with mild amusement at Chocolat's calm and controlled demeanor – effectively rendered the dominant clown harmless. The face paint, the mass of forelocks that are characteristically combed upward, and the conical cap conform to numerous descriptions and images of Footit, but their intended purpose to overwhelm and dazzle the viewer is mitigated by the prosaic and infantile costume chosen for the photograph.

In this image, Chocolat's appearance, too, disrupts the stereotypical image that proliferated in the duo's publicity materials. He stands erect and poised, merely regarding his partner rather than reacting to Footit's customary taunting. Chocolat's face, exhibiting calm assurance, bears little sign of the prognathism attributed to blacks and that was often exaggerated in pictorial representations. Certainly, the top coat, knee breeches, and gloves were a standard part of his stage wardrobe, but the cut and fit of this suit complement the proportions of his form unlike some depictions that project a sense of the ridiculous onto a black man wearing foppish and outmoded evening dress or servant's attire.

Other photographs of Footit and Chocolat function as analogues of the stage routines for which they were well known.[479] In a photograph of a scene from their parody of the legend of William Tell [Figure 62], Chocolat, eyes wide open and mouth slightly agape, cringes in anticipation of the shot to be fired by Footit. Another photograph [Figure 63] depicts Footit, carrying the banjo that was employed to introduce song in their act, stalking an unsuspecting Chocolat. I include these photographs neither to assert that they present accurate depictions of

[479] These photographs, most of which are in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, were presumably made for the promotion of Footit and Chocolat's act at the Nouveau Cirque. Many of the photographic images were reproduced as postcards or became the basis for larger-scale lithographic posters. See Giret, *Les arts du cirque au XIXe siècle*, 75-76.

Chocolat and Footit nor to establish them as a foil to Toulouse-Lautrec's representations of the two clowns. Rather, I would like to suggest that the photographs – and here I submit that they are also constructions of the clowns' images – are useful as a basis for exploring the ways in which the deviations from the photographic images achieve more than simply overriding verisimilitude. Certainly, one can assert that Toulouse-Lautrec's creative impulses did not conform to the demands or the constraints of mimesis. The caricatured images of Chocolat on which my chapter focuses, I believe, demonstrate an equivocal and changing response to Chocolat's stage persona as well as to contemporary debates about the fixity of racial difference. In my view, these images manifest conflicting views about race and masculinity.

The partnering of Footit and Chocolat after 1890 offered a plenitude of racial binarisms for audiences to contemplate – white and black, subject and object, domination and submission, intelligence and feeble-mindedness – that altered the import of their act from mere slapstick clowning to a theatrical spectacle steeped in the discourse of race. Indeed, the act can be understood as a palimpsest overwritten with apparent allusions to racism in the *fin-de-siècle*. Footit embodied the agency that was assumed to be the prerogative of the modern (white, European) male; he was "intelligent, nervous, nimble, the antithesis of his partner," while Chocolat, "dimwitted, slow to respond, and ready to put up with anything,"[480] signified a passivity that was not only deemed inherent to his role as the Auguste, but inherent to his racial identity. Rémy elaborates on the audiences' uncertainty about the nature of Chocolat's docility: did Chocolat willingly accept Footit's abuse without complaint because of a limited capacity to reason or did he possess enough common sense to understand that it was his natural place to

[480] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 111: "Footitt, intelligent, nerveux, léger, était l'antithèse de son partenaire, borné, lent à s'émouvoir et prêt à tout supporter."

submit?[481] Writing in 1945, Rémy, too, participates in the valorization of Footit as the mastermind of the duo's success. He frequently commends Footit for redefining and reinvigorating the relationship between the Clown and Auguste. Rarely does Rémy acknowledge Chocolat's role in the development of their act.

Footit's status as the active player in the routine and Chocolat's reactive role are illustrated in an image that appeared in the well-read arts and literary journal, *La Revue blanche*.[482] In the 1894 lithograph, *Footit et Chocolat* [Figure 60], published in the four-page *NIB* supplement of *La Revue blanche*, Toulouse-Lautrec appears to affirm racist attitudes and, indeed, celebrate them as a source of humor. This image certainly confirms Cocteau's portrayal of Footit as a menacing and violent presence who bullies and abuses the "stupid" black man in the "tight-fitting knee breeches." Chocolat reacts to, but does not resist Footit's forceful kick as he looks back towards his tormentor. The audience's eyes are focused on the outstretched form of Chocolat as he falls sprawling onto the circus floor. Placing Chocolat between the massive figure of Footit and the retreating horse, Toulouse-Lautrec suggests the middle station – between humanity and animality – to which blacks were consigned. The image is dominated by the whiteness of the untouched areas of the composition except for one jarring passage of black, Chocolat's face: a darkened mass of exaggerated protruding cheekbone, jutting jaw, and one large projecting ear. Here, Toulouse-Lautrec draws on the stereotypical facial characteristics of the Negro and simian that situated the Negro between the white man and the monkey on a racist hierarchical scale of beauty and intelligence.

[481] Rémy, *Les clowns*, 120.

[482] *La Revue blanche* was founded in Belgium by Toulouse-Lautrec's good friend, poet Paul Leclercq in 1889. The magazine was published in Paris between 1891 and 1903 by the Natanson brothers, Alexandre, Thadée, and Alfred, all of whom were influential patrons of the visual and literary arts.

Another example of a racialist definition of physiognomy and comportment that leaves little doubt about this intermediate status of the Negro surfaces in one of Toulouse-Lautrec's last works, *At the Circus,* '*Chocolat*' [Figure 64], 1899. Confined for several weeks in the spring of 1899 in a psychiatric clinic in the Paris suburb of Neuilly to treat his alcoholism, Toulouse-Lautrec began a series of drawings that were, for the most part, devoted to the exploits of the circus. Without the aid of models, Toulouse-Lautrec relied on his recollection of acts, such as Footit and Chocolat's, and improvised on the surreal aspects of their performance in the circus ring among small and large animals.[483] In this drawing, Toulouse-Lautrec isolates his subject, uncharacteristically on a horse, within the dizzying cropped concentric lines that suggest the circus ring and the tiers of seating that rise up from the arena floor. The white animal, elegantly proportioned, extends both front legs while rearing its head as if trying to dislodge the undisciplined Chocolat whose loss of the reins and lack of control has forced him to fall forward in the seat of the saddle. Again, the dichotomy between white and black and their incommensurability, distilled in the closeness of the horse's head and Chocolat's ink-blackened face, are played out in this image of noble beast and foppish clown. Yet, Chocolat forms a chimeric appendage to the horse that at once reinforces their separateness as well as their incongruous union. Moreover, closer inspection reveals multiple pictorial correspondences: Chocolat's and the horse's emphatic protruding lips; the tuff of hair atop the horse's head and that spilling out from the brim of Chocolat's top hat; the slender, well-defined legs; the arched backs and rounded buttocks; and the distinctive arc to the horse's tail that is echoed by Chocolat's errant coat tail curling above him.

[483] On Toulouse-Lautrec's circus images created at Dr. René Semelaigne's clinic, see Richard Thomson, Phillip Dennis Cate, and Mary Weaver Chapin, *Toulouse-Lautrec and Montmartre*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 240-241.

But I also see in this image and in Toulouse-Lautrec's *NIB* lithograph ambivalence towards the black male body. By the second half of the nineteenth-century, the Auguste's costume was composed of a black tailcoat, often as ill-fitting and as loose as the baggy pantaloons worn by the Clown. In the studio photograph of Chocolat and Footit [Figure 60], Chocolat's tailcoat and breeches appear well-tailored, but in Toulouse-Lautrec's lithograph of *Footit et Chocolat* and the drawing of Chocolat on horseback, they cling to his form. In the *NIB* image, Toulouse-Lautrec draws attention to Chocolat's body, a mere outline, but one that conjures the male form, a sexualized body, in contrast to Footit's form that remains hidden under his voluminous costume. Toulouse-Lautrec encases Chocolat's body in white, as he does in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*, dismembering the body from the head, at once denying the body its blackness and emphasizing it by the act of erasing it. Despite this aesthetic blanching, the contours of Chocolat's lean, taut, rounded form, broad shoulders, and well-defined leg muscles remain intact. This is not the black male body, derided and grossly exaggerated as we saw in Faivre's image, nor the white male body dematerialized and denied under layers of protective clothing, but a curious fusion of white and black, the spectral and the corporeal, the bizarre and the captivating.

Consuming Chocolat

The image in *La Revue blanche* was accompanied by a subtext: "… dirty negro … You are not Chocolat … There is only one Chocolat … That is Chocolat Potin."[484] The image and text served as an advertisement for a well-known chocolatier in Paris. Despite the inscription's attempt to deny the association between Chocolat and a pleasurable, exotic confection, it suggests the opposite. In reality, the link between Chocolat the performer and the commodity of chocolate,

[484] "… sale nègre … Vous n'êtes pas Chocolat … Il n'y a qu'un Chocolat … C'est le Chocolat Potin."

seems to have been encouraged by Footit and Chocolat as well as by their circus promoters and, in this case, the manufacturers of Chocolat Potin who hoped to capitalize on the duo's popularity. Undoubtedly, the relationship between eating chocolate and the visual consumption of Chocolat was not lost on audiences.[485]

Writer Jules Renard, a frequent contributor to *La Revue blanche* and friend of Toulouse-Lautrec, poked fun at the conflation of Chocolat and chocolate and the seductive power of both commodities in a short narrative, "Pierre et Berthe," published in *Le Rire* in 1898. An argument ensues between a boy, Pierre, aged nine, and his sister, Berthe, aged ten, upon returning home from the circus. "I want to marry Chocolat," Berthe declares. "He loves me already since he gave me chocolates." Pierre retorts by accusing Berthe of having a weakness for sweets. Berthe replies, "Do you imagine that I want to eat him like chocolate?" Berthe continues to profess her devotion to Chocolat while Pierre expresses his preference for Footit. When their father arrives to settle the argument, Berthe asks him which clown he prefers. "Chocolat, my child, certainly Chocolat," he confirms without hesitation.[486] Despite all that Chocolat had to endure as the object and victim of Footit's practical jokes and slapstick humor, Chocolat's reactions commanded greater attention from the audience. The intensity with which the woman in the audience directs her lorgnette at Chocolat in the *NIB* lithograph signals that Chocolat was

[485] For a comprehensive study of how images of blacks were exploited for the promotion of all types of products in nineteenth- and twentieth-century France, see Raymond Bachollet, *Négripub: l'image des Noirs dans la publicité* (Paris: Somogy, 1992). Bachollet, 36, includes a reproduction of another Potin advertising poster featuring Footit and Chocolat dated 1898. Rae Beth Gordon discusses the ways in which chocolate and sexual appeal were associated with the black male in *fin-de-siècle* Paris in *Dances with Darwin, 1875-1910* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 159-163.

[486] Jules Renard, "Pierre et Berthe," *Le Rire* 180 (April 16, 1898): 2. "Berthe – Je veux me marier avec Chocolat. … Il m'aime déjà, puisque il m'a donné des chocolats. … Ah! tu me traites de gourmande! Tu t'imagines que je veux le manger comme un chocolat? … Le Papa – Chocolat, ma fille, Chocolat, sûrement."

perceived as both an object of ridicule and the gaze.[487] Renard's short story asks the reader to consider not only the cross-racial appeal of Chocolat but, at its conclusion, to ponder also the engagement of the male spectator with the display of the objectified and sexualized black male body.

At the Irish and American Bar

Maurice Joyant, Toulouse-Lautrec's close friend, biographer, and cataloguer of his oeuvre, vividly recalled the artist's habit of patronizing the Irish and American Bar on the Rue Royale beginning in 1895.[488] Located near the Place de la Concord, the Irish and American Bar was situated close to a number of elegant dining establishments as well as to the Nouveau Cirque. The Irish and American Bar catered to a clientele of men whose professional backgrounds were varied: coachmen whose attire mirrored the respectability and refinement of their employers; English jockeys, grooms, and other sportsmen associated with horse racing; and artists and writers. Along with Toulouse-Lautrec, the bar boasted an eclectic mix of patrons including Claude Debussy, Stéphane Mallarmé, and the clowns Footit and Chocolat who frequently arrived after their performance at the Nouveau Cirque.[489] An Asian-Native American from San Francisco identified as Ralph presided behind the bar and was known for mixing elaborately concocted drinks. Joyant particularly noted the thick smoke that pervaded the bar and "le brouhaha," the loud din of multiple conversations among the

[487] Thadée Natanson recounts Toulouse-Lautrec's fascination with Footit and Chocolat's performance at the Nouveau Cirque where he sat in the front row, watching attentively, and laughing along with the children in the audience. Natanson, *Un Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec* (Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1992), 66.

[488] Maurice Joyant, *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, 1864-1901*, vol. 1 (Paris: H. Floury, 1926-1927), 194-195. For other sources on Toulouse-Lautrec's penchant for drinking at the Irish and American Bar, see Paul Leclercq, *Autour de Toulouse-Lautrec* (Paris: H. Floury, 1921), 18; and Henry Perruchot, "Les Bars de Toulouse-Lautrec," *Le Jardin des Arts* 42 (1958): 364-370.

[489] Toulouse-Lautrec biographer Julia Frey notes that Lautrec first brought Footit and Chocolat to the Irish and American Bar after befriending them when he worked on the *NIB* image for *La Revue blanche*. See Frey, *Toulouse-Lautre: A Life* (New York: Viking, 1994), 400-401.

customers. In the midst of this good-natured commotion, Footit and Chocolat would dance accompanied by an English woman on banjo and her son, a mulatto, on mandolin.

Toulouse-Lautrec's image of *Chocolat dansant dans un bar* corroborates much of Joyant's descriptive passage of the Irish and American Bar, but it equally deflects some of Joyant's salient points. Footit is not portrayed. Ralph is no longer standing behind the imposing bar, but appears adjacent to Chocolat in an elevated room behind the bar's main drinking area. Ralph stands in front of what looks like a sideboard; his portly size is conspicuous juxtaposed to the agile and slender figure of Chocolat. Chocolat is also joined in the elevated area of the bar by a youthful harpist. He substitutes for the banjo and mandolin players, playing the lyre-harp to accompany the solo Chocolat. Assembled in the bar's main room, two customers avert their attention from the bar and conversation to face Chocolat and observe his performance.

The intricacy of Chocolat's pose and his movement demonstrate a poise and control that were not attributes of his stage persona. Lithe and vertical, although defined by curved and fluid lines, Chocolat no longer plays the role of the stumbling and humiliated clown. In fact, Chocolat's body metamorphosizes into a phantasm of whiteness that vacillates between the material and the ethereal. Sheathed in a costume that resembles the close-fitting trousers and shirts worn by jockeys – similar to the rider's attire we see in a lithograph by Toulouse-Lautrec titled *Le Jockey*, 1899 [Figure 65] – Chocolat is endowed with the civilizing attributes associated with the popular and class-conscious pastime of horse racing: sophistication, discipline, and athleticism.[490] Chocolat's composure in the guise of a jockey is decidedly at variance with the way in which Toulouse-Lautrec represented Chocolat as the bungling equestrian in *At the Circus*, '*Chocolat*' in 1899. Through his costume in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*, we clearly see the

[490] For an examination of images of horse racing and jockeys and a history of horse racing in nineteenth-century France, see Jean Sutherland Boggs, Shelley Sturman, Daphne Barbour, and Kimberly Jones, *Degas at the Races*, ext. cat. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

contour lines that define Chocolat's pronounced calf and hamstring muscles, his lean and flexing bicep, and the hint of the tightening muscles of his buttocks. This is a body at odds with the obligatory primitivism, animalism, and buffoonery that determined the depiction of the black male in many late nineteenth-century images.[491]

His facial features undergo a change as well. The uniformly darkened complexion of Chocolat in the *NIB* lithograph, alleviated by the miniscule glint of Chocolat's beady eyes, is supplanted by a visage that is enlivened and modulated by a wash of blue pigment juxtaposed against the jet black sideburn and the expanse of shading under his chin. The brim of Chocolat's jaunty checked-patterned cap conceals his forehead, denying it the conspicuous sign of the "negroid" lowered brow. His ear, nose and mouth do not conform to the swollen and distorted features that Toulouse-Lautrec emphasized in the NIB lithograph of *Footit and Chocolat* and the drawing, *At the Circus*. Only the protruding jaw and his longheadness consign Chocolat to nineteenth-century notions of racialist physiognomy that the rest of his body seems to resist.[492]

Chocolat's body is a performing body, one that yields its agency to the gaze of the male audience. His tight-fitting clothing exposes his form, rendering it not only desirable, but also vulnerable. At once self-possessed and aware of being watched, Chocolat is caught between exercising his autonomy and an existence that is circumscribed by the viewing pleasure of others. Dance historian Ramsay Burt underscores this dilemma for the male dancer. He writes: "A male dancer who is absorbed in the enveloping atmosphere which the performance of a piece generates, so that he barely acknowledges the spectator, conforms with norms of male

---

[491] See Blanchard, et al., *Le Paris noir*, for a catalogue of images that exploit the racial stereotype.

[492] In addition to the measurement of facial angle, anatomists and anthropologists calculated the breadth and length of skulls to determine the cephalic index. Dolichocephaly, or a long-headed skull, was another taxonomic sign of the Negro. Ironically, during the nineteenth century, Swedish anatomist Anders Retzius attributed dolichocephalism to greater intelligence because it was the prevalent shape of the head of northern Europeans. Stephen Jay Gould discusses Paul Broca's efforts to explain why African blacks possessed this physical trait. See Gould, "Measuring Heads," in *The Mismeasure of Man*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1997), 130-132.

detachment and self-sufficiency. But, by not being in control of the spectator's gaze, he may not have any defense against being looked at in an erotic way."[493]

Equal to the staging of race is the staging of the feminine in the composition. The harp, formed by the rhythmic, sinuous arcing of its frame mirrors the sway of Chocolat's torso. His supple and visible body is decidedly antithetical to the rigid and sartorially shielded bodies of the patrons in the bar. In her analysis of *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*, Griselda Pollock accurately observes a visual correlation between the dancing forms of Chocolat and La Goulue in Toulouse-Lautrec's *Moulin Rouge – La Goulue* [Figure 66].[494] Both figures are portrayed from behind, faces in profile, self-absorbed in rhythmical movement, although La Goulue's frenzied, energetic kicking certainly distinguishes her performance from Chocolat's measured dance. Here, I want to draw attention to an incongruity, rather than a similarity, between the two images and the two male dancers represented in each image: La Goulue's partner, Valentin le Désossé and Chocolat. Both the faces and physiognomies of Chocolat and Valentin le Désossé are caricatured to an equal degree. Yet Valentin's form conjures the phallus: stiff torso, chiseled jaw, elongated neck, and distended fingers.[495] Valentin's image, firmly and erectly planted on the dance floor – although we see only the truncated form of the dancer in shadow – affirmed a bourgeois standard of acceptable comportment for a male dancer. Chocolat's erotically charged and graceful form contravenes that rule. It most certainly would have made Chocolat's masculinity suspect, and it would have cast doubt on what was upheld as an unassailable constituent of the black male, his

[493] Ramsay Burt, *The Male Dancer: Bodies, Spectacle, Sexualities*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), 34.
[494] Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), 85.
[495] See Claire Frèches-Thory, Anne Roquebert, and Richard Thomson, *Toulouse-Lautrec* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 250, for details of the partnership of La Goulue and Valentin as well as Valentin's appeal to women.

excessive (hetero)sexuality. The back of Chocolat's body seems to foreclose a veiled reference to that part of the Negro's anatomy that was believed to determine his nature: his penis.[496]

Absences and Presences: Masculinity and Subjectivity

The notion that the black male was endowed with an overt hypersexuality was so entrenched in racialist discourse during the nineteenth century that Toulouse-Lautrec's formal decision to depict Chocolat from behind and in what could be construed as an effeminate manner deserves further examination. Thus far, I have proposed that Toulouse-Lautrec's depiction of Chocolat's racial identity can be read as fluid, but I also want to explore the ambiguity of masculine and sexual identity that is implied in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*. I want to argue that Toulouse-Lautrec's image evokes an ambiguous racialized masculinity and suggests an interchange between perceptions of the privileged white male's masculinity and that of the black male.[497]

At the turn of the nineteenth century, physician Julien-Joseph Virey, who is credited with popularizing racialist theory about the inherent inequality between "white" and "black" races based on his study of the shape of heads, described the sexual behavior of the male Negro as prodigious. "[A]ll his body is agitated, trembling with pleasure, every one of his muscles is engaged in the dance; amorous passion animates all of his actions; his gestures become lustful; they express the desire that consumes him."[498] German comparative anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach confirmed in his late eighteenth-century treatise on human anatomy that the size of

---

[496] Fanon, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, 170, makes this point emphatically: "[T]he Negro is eclipsed. He is turned into a penis. He *is* a penis."

[497] Kobena Mercer, "Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imaginary," *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, ed. Rachel Adams and David Savran (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 192.

[498] Virey, *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*, vol. 2:9. "Alors tout son corps s'agite, frissonne de plaisir; chacun de ses muscles participe à la danse; le sentiment de l'amour anime tous ses mouvements; ses gestes deviennent lascifs; ils expriment l'ardeur qui le consume."

the African penis was, indeed, disproportionately larger than that of the European male. "It is generally said that the penis in the Negro is very large. And this assertion is so far borne out by the remarkable genitory apparatus of an Ethiopian which I have in my anatomical collection."[499] The black penis, while not ignored, was rarely the focus of the lengthy descriptions that French ethnologists, anthropologists, and physicians emphasized in their studies and precise measurements of the Negro's anatomy. The angle of the face, size and shape of the skull, as well as the dimensions of the pelvis, chest, nose, arms, and feet were subjected to methodical calculations and became the foci on which the comparative analysis of the Negro and Caucasian anatomies concentrated.[500] In 1841, however, in dispassionate and clinical language, physician and embryologist Étienne Serres wrote: "One of the characters of the Ethiopian race consists in the length of the penis compared with that of the Caucasian race. This dimension coincides with the length of the uterine canal in the Ethiopian female, and both have their cause in the form of the pelvis in the Negro race."[501]

If biologists and anthropologists tacitly addressed this aspect of the black male physiognomy, visual images corroborated the possibility of the black man's physical endowment. The image by Faivre in *Le Rire* [Figure 57] of the recumbent primitive black male incites the imagination to conjure the unseen part of the figure's anatomy that could be equal in proportion to his long arms and massive hands. To presuppose such a physical reality enabled

---

[499] Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind. De Generis Humani Varietate Nativa*, trans. Thomas Bendyshe (London: Published for the Anthropological Society, by Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), 249.

[500] For the comparative indices and illustrations of the various instruments designed to measure parts of the human anatomy, see Paul Topinard, *Anthropology*, trans. Robert T. H. Bartley (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890); originally published as *L'anthropologie* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1876). For the history of the European fascination in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the black penis, see David M. Friedman, "The Measuring Stick," in *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 103-148.

[501] Quoted in Paul Broca, *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, ed. C. Carter Blake (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1864), 28. Blake includes his own comment in the footnote accompanying the quote by Serres: "The size of the penis is not a constant character in the 'Ethiopian' male. Instances, however, exist of its enormous development in the West African Negro."

those who constructed images of the black male merely to hint its existence, to allow other appendages to serve as a somatic reference to its shape and size. In Faivre's image, it is not only the unseen penis that assumes unnatural and, therefore, hideous, proportions, but it is also the entire body that is swollen and unpleasing.

The malformed and aberrant black male body that we see in Faivre's image, for example, is transformed into an aesthetic and athletic body in Toulouse-Lautrec's depiction of Chocolat dancing at the Irish and American Bar. And, it is a body that is also unashamedly corporeal. Chocolat's body materializes, indeed is revealed by the tightness of his clothing, to expose his firm buttocks, developed hamstring and calf muscles, right bicep, as well as his slender waist. These physical attributes mark in complex ways how the black male body served as a site of erotic fantasy for the artist and viewer, and a site of physical power. Chocolat's pose hides the manifestation of the reputed physiognomic anomaly attributed to the black male, although the veiled presence of his genitals would presumably have been seen by the patrons of the Irish and American Bar who face Chocolat from the front room of the bar. Chocolat's body, pronounced and exposed under his tight-fitting clothing, offered the viewers of *Le Rire* two fantasies of black manhood: one envisioning a sleek heterosexual athleticism and the other, homoeroticism.[502]

A reductive reading of Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat dancing would interpret the artist's decision to render Chocolat from behind as a way of emasculating the Negro. I shall return to this argument later in the chapter. I find Toulouse-Lautrec's decision to depict Chocolat in this posture symptomatic of troubling notions of late nineteenth-century white masculinity as much as the adoption of a racist desire to purge the sign of (sexual) power from the racial Other.

[502] The prominent chicken on the platter in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar* might also be an allusion to Chocolat's appeal as an object of homosexual desire. Of the various meanings *poulet* has in French slang, the one used in current gay idiom – "a delectable gay morsel" is relevant to my reading of Chocolat's androgynous figure as the site of homosexual/homoerotic fantasy. I would like to thank Marilyn R. Brown for this source.

Chocolat's attire resembling that worn by the modern jockey, and most importantly, the self-control and composure that he exhibits, allude to the more problematic aspect of this image. Equal to the somatic difference between black and white bodies (Chocolat's "blackness" is limited only to his darkened face and right hand) that does assume fundamental importance in the image is the fact that the black man is enabled by the artist to resemble the white male. Homi Bhabha's notion of mimicry and the eponymous "mimic man" impart a relevant meaning to my reading of Toulouse-Lautrec's image. The metamorphosis of the colonial object from threatening native into an imitation of the colonizer is meant to render the native familiar, but it also turns the native into a disconcerting version of the colonizer, making the "mimic man" paradoxically unreliably familiar. Mimicry is not a seamless portrayal and the distinctions between colonizer and the colonized are sustained. As Bhabha argues: "[C]olonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*."[503] Recognizing himself in the guise and manner adopted by the colonized, seeing himself parodied, and aware that he no longer possesses singularity, the colonizer is confronted with the fracture of his perceived authority and exclusive subjectivity.

I would also suggest that Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat manifests a kind of reversal of nineteenth-century blackface. Blackface minstrelsy in which the white male performer appropriated and grossly exaggerated aspects of black speech, song, dance, physiognomy, and comportment may have elicited some confusion about the racial identity of the performer – is he black or indeed, a fake – but the humor stemmed from the undeniable disparity between the white and the black male, and the white male's control of the gaze in looking at the objectified presence performing on stage. Eric Lott's study of minstrelsy in the United States before and after the Civil War, which addresses the appropriation and derision of black culture by white performers,

[503] Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," *The Location of Culture*, 122.

also makes the point that the white performers and the mostly male audience identified with the ridiculed image of the black male. He writes: " To wear or even enjoy blackface was literally … to become black, to inherit the cool, virility, humility, abandon, or *gaité de coeur* that were the prime components of white ideologies of black manhood."[504] The act of assuming the attitude, attire, and autonomy of the white male in Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat, unlike the characterization of blacks by minstrels, did not entail any of the egregious and blatant feigning of racial identity that is at the heart of blackface. Chocolat embodies the disparate as well as the mutually completing and shared attributes assigned to the black and white male. I am not arguing that the incommensurability between the black and white male bodies is completely elided in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*. But I do believe that Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat sanctions a form of selfhood, one that disrupts stereotyping as well as the regulation of normative codes of white masculinity.

Here, I want to situate *Chocolat dansant dans un bar* within the context of other nineteenth-century images that depicted the (white) male with his back to the viewer. I want to look at how manhood is questioned and compromised by this position and how the male spectator's sense of subjectivity is split when looking at these images. And, I want to suggest that the image of Chocolat also compelled the white male spectator to consider his body caught in the field of vision.[505] Tamar Garb's astute study of the weakened and vulnerable state of bourgeois masculinity in late nineteenth-century France, what cultural historian Robert Nye calls the crises

[504] Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 52. Exploring the blurring of racial identity in his work on American minstrelsy, Lott looks at the appeal of minstrelsy for nineteenth-century working-class Americans and examines their identification with the blackface performers who mimed as well as derided the American Negro.

[505] Bhabha, "Interrogating Identity: Frantz Fanon and the Postcolonial Prerogative," *The Location of Culture*, 60. I am guided by Bhabha's profound notion of reciprocity between the colonizer/subject and the colonized/object in the act of looking. He writes: "The white man's eyes break up the black man's body and in that act of epistemic violence its own frame of reference is transgressed, its field of vision disturbed."

of masculinity[506] – "[t]he fear of effeminacy, sexual perversions, and homosexuality"[507] – revolves around Gustave Caillebotte's image of a male bather depicted from behind within a nondescript modern bathroom. In her analysis of *Man at His Bath* [Figure 67], 1884, Garb argues that Caillebotte reclaimed the male nude as a subject of modernity. But in this image, the vision of the modern male nude clashed with the pictorial precedents that insisted on historical or allegorical contexts for such subject matter. Standing with his backside exposed, Caillebotte's robust male bather, despite his muscularity and self-conscious concentration on the act of drying, is, according to Garb, contained within the "feminine" interior and subjected to the possessing and desirous gaze of the spectator.[508] Caillebotte's modern, decidedly non-heroic bather represented the embodiment of white masculinity, unshielded by the layers of clothing and sartorial trappings that signified the phallus and its wholeness for the bourgeois. Caillebotte's image invoked a correlation between the imaginary phallus and the real penis. The eliding of the bather's genitalia, while decorous, nevertheless suggested a deficiency, physical and psychic, which cannot be mitigated by the bather's erect carriage or active stance. In Garb's reading of the image, the bather's open and unprotected backside hinted at the threat of sexual violation as well as signified the fear of castration.

Depicting any male from behind was fraught with implications of emasculation and possible violation. Conscious of that potential outcome, the artist might find it necessary to inscribe a resolute opacity onto the body, eliminating any reference to the body that inhabits the

---

[506] Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 100.

[507] Nye, in *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, 125, articulates the disquieting concerns that afflicted French society in the *fin de siècle*: "The fear of effeminacy, sexual perversions, and homosexuality was common throughout Western Europe in the decades prior to 1914."

[508] See Tamar Garb, "Gustave Caillebotte's Male Figures: Masculinity, Muscularity and Modernity," in *Bodies of Modernity*: *Figure and Flesh in Fin-de Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 24-53. Garb, 50, also discusses Caillebotte's *Bathers, Banks of the Yerres*, 1877, which depicts a modern male swimmer attired in a striped and close-fitting bathing costume who turns his bending backside toward the viewer as he prepares to dive into the river.

clothing, or to endow the back with a massiveness and rigidity that would deny any suggestion of effeminacy or penetrability. These measures of overcompensation could safeguard the image of the male from any hint of vulnerability. Toulouse-Lautrec's poster, *Bruant at the Mirliton*, 1893 [Figure 68], publicizing the second volume of songs by the cabaret performer, proves a useful example of this pictorial strategy. Despite the fact that Toulouse-Lautrec offers no significant glimpse of Bruant's recognizable profile, Bruant's iconic costume of black jacket, trousers tucked into calf-length boots, and wide-brimmed hat provided enough evidence of the figure's identity. The uniformly applied passages of black ink modified by a few streaks of drab olive-green and red conceal a body that is articulated only by the firm contour lines that define his form. Despite the broad proportions of the torso, amplified by the arms placed in either pocket, the figure of Bruant without his signature cape, red scarf, and phallic walking stick, lacks the formidable presence that persuasively fills the space of the lithograph poster, *Aristide Bruant dans son cabaret* [Figure 69], 1893. Bruant's isolated form seems overwhelmed by his large hat in *Bruant at the Mirliton*. Moreover, the contour lines, while suggesting a body securely concealed by his opaque costume, reduce the body to an assemblage of pronounced curves and bulges. Competing with the largely proportioned text, Bruant's commanding presence is undercut in this image and his stature diminished.

Toulouse-Lautrec explored the thematics of masculinity in other ways in a number of portraits of friends he produced during the 1890s.[509] Images of properly attired gentlemen, outfitted with top hat or bowler, the walking stick that was *de rigueur* for a bourgeois, and groomed facial hair, cannot convince the viewer of the figures' unassailable masculinity defined

[509] For a discussion of Toulouse-Lautrec's male portraits, see, Claire Frèches-Thory, Anne Roquebert, and Richard Thomson, *Toulouse-Lautrec*, 160-167. While the authors argue that Toulouse-Lautrec depicts his male sitters, most of whom were friends of the artist, with an air of confidence, my reading of some of these portraits suggests a conflicted sense of masculinity.

by self-control, rigidity, impassivity, an air of superiority, and command of their surroundings. The downward glance, somewhat ungainly stride of the left leg, narrow shoulders, and slightly bent torso of Toulouse-Lautrec's cousin, in *Gabriel Tapié de Céleyran dans un couloir de théâtre*, 1893-1894 [Figure 70], undermines the late nineteenth-century ideal of manly outward comportment. The acid-orange carpeting against which the figure's black trousers are silhouetted endows the composition with a visual equivalent for melancholy that is reinforced by Tapié de Céleyran's isolation from the other figures along the corridor. This assault on the bourgeois male psyche and the foundations of patriarchy did not bode well for a society that continued to claim its physical and intellectual superiority over the non-white populations living in the metropole as well as those in French colonies. Robert Nye's insightful correlation between the humbling defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian War and the subsequent decline in the birthrate, which precipitated debate about moderate sexual behavior and the preservation of the bourgeois male's ability to father children, is relevant to my study.[510] This discourse can be understood as contributing to uneasiness about norms of white masculinity that would have been magnified by the presence in Paris of a possible sexual transgressor, the black male, whose sexual prowess had long been the subject of speculation and fascination for Europeans.[511]

Almost equal to twentieth-century and current studies of black masculinity that attest to the fallacy of the anatomically endowed black male and his heightened sexuality, are those that assert that the black male has been metaphorically (and physically) emasculated by the twinned violence of racism and colonialism.[512] Frantz Fanon's inquiry into black male subjecthood and

---

[510] Nye, "Population, Degeneration, and Reproduction," in *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, 72-97.

[511] See Friedman, "The Measuring Stick," *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis*, 103-148.

[512] For example, see David Marriott, *On Black Men* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), and Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, 152-153. Also see Tim Edwards, "In Black and White: Race, Ethnicity and Masculinity," in *Cultures of Masculinity* (London: Routledge, 2006), 63-78, for his critique of arguments supporting the theory of black emasculation.

masculinity through the prism of his French identity in Martinique and his subjection to racism in France remains persuasive in the way it articulates the irreducibility of notions of black emasculation. Fanon writes unequivocally in *Black Skin, White Masks* about the paradoxical exchange of power between the white colonizer and the colonized man of color. As the black male submits to the colonizer's scopic control, the colonizer also wrests control of image of the black male body, mutilating, reconstituting, and investing it with certain physiognomic abnormalities. He writes:

> The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man. Overnight the Negro has been given two frames of reference within which he has had to place himself. His metaphysics, or, less pretentiously, his customs and the sources on which they were based, were wiped out because they were in conflict with a civilization that he did not know and that imposed itself on him.[513]
>
> For the sexual potency of the Negro is hallucinating.[514]
>
> Still on the genital level, when a white man hates black men, is he not yielding to a feeling of impotence or sexual inferiority? Since his ideal is an infinite virility, is there not a phenomenon of diminution in relation to the Negro, who is viewed as a penis symbol?[515]
>
> But the Negro is castrated. The penis, the symbol of manhood, is annihilated, which is to say that it is denied.[516]

If the black male is reduced to corporeality, to the "genital" and "biological," as Fanon reiterates throughout his analysis of black masculine identity within the white world, it is a degradation that merits the white man's and woman's fascination, envy, and obsession to the point where the black body is simultaneously vilified and desired, and, unexpectedly, empowered. It is also, paradoxically, a degradation that inflects the white male's sexual identity as an inferior.

The notion of phallic rivalry between black and white is explored in other scholarship addressing theories of masculinity.[517] It has been argued that historically the black male needed

---

[513] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 110.
[514] Ibid., 157.
[515] Ibid., 159.
[516] Ibid., 162.

to be emasculated because, despite efforts to limit his agency and selfhood, he represented a threat to the white man's position as the superior bearer of the phallus. Scholars of nineteenth-century American racialist politics trace the perception of an empowerment of the black male to the era of Reconstruction when the liberated black male was understood as a sexual rival for the white woman.[518] W. E. B. Du Bois invoked the risk to the white male when he wrote: "[T]he race question at bottom is simply a matter of ownership of women; white men want the right to use all women, colored and white, and they resent the intrusion of colored men in this domain."[519]

The racial landscape in France did not parallel that of America during Reconstruction; nevertheless, the presence of the black man in metropolitan France did represent the threat of interracial union and miscegenation. After the mid-1870s, the arrival of *indigènes* from Africa – troupes of "native" people who agreed to live and perform at the colonial pavilions associated with the *Expositions universelles*, the *zoos humains* at the *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation*, and those who performed in the theater, as well as the Turcos and *tirailleurs* who served in the French army – were now highly visible and contributed to the French fascination with the black male body.[520] Initially depicted as savage and violent, as the poster of the staging of the *Les*

---

[517] For example, see Todd W. Reeser, "Interracial Masculinities," in *Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 208-215; and Gwen Bergner, "Who Is That Masked Woman? Or, the Role of Gender in Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*," *PMLA* 110, no. 1 (1995): 75-88.

[518] See Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

[519] W. E. B. Du Bois quoted in Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women and Race and Sex in America* (New York: W. Morrow, 1984), 61.

[520] Blanchard, et al., *Le Paris noir*, 16. Relatively few blacks were living in Paris during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The majority of blacks seen in the metropole were African soldiers serving in the French army and ethnographic "performers" from French colonies. Additionally, there were a small number of students coming from the French Antilles. Also see Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, eds., *Zoos humains XIXe et XXe siècles*, 13, on the continual fascination with the black male and female in nineteenth-century Paris: "L'Autre fascine aussi parce qu'il permet la projection de fantasmes, et l'intuition des multiples transgressions qu'il est supposé accomplir provoque du désir." ("The Other also fascinated because he permitted the projection of fantasies, and the contemplation of multiple transgressions that it was assumed he performed, provoked desire.")

Zoulous at the *Folies-Bergère* in 1878 attests [Figure 9], by the last decade of the nineteenth century, the black male had undergone a transformation into the benign primitive, tamed and under the European's control within the boundaries of the reenacted colonial spectacle.[521] This metamorphosis did not endow the black male with the gift of civilizing manners, but rather locked him into another frame of reference that was fixed by scientific studies of morphology, pathology, and cultural anthropology. Surprisingly, what emerged in the literary and visual representations of the African male testified to a conflicted impression of the very subjects that had been studied so relentlessly. Oft-repeated characterizations were deployed, only to have them qualified or invalidated by photographic documentation.

Félix-Louis Regnault, who wrote about and photographed African performers housed in the ethnographic expositions on the Champ de Mars, compiled a literary and visual record of his subjects that underscored a striking variance between the constructed, stereotyped, and staged primitive and what the camera captured.[522] In an 1893 article that was published in the popular science journal *La Nature*, Regnault proffered inconsistent views of the Dahomean men living in one of the indigenous villages constructed on the Champ de Mars: "The dominant temperament of the Dahomeans, as of all savages, is indifference and laziness. They are passionate about dance and music. … The war dance is accompanied by expressive gestures, convulsive [and] agitated spinning movements; savage cries, fighting gestures. …"[523] Yet, the accompanying photograph of musicians holding drums and other percussion instruments [Figure 71] failed to

[521] See Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Sandrine Lemaire, "From Scientific Racism to Popular and Colonial Racism in France and the West," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, et al., 107.

[522] On Regnault's films, see Fatimah Tobing Rony, "Those Who Squat and Those Who Sit: The Iconography of Race in the 1895 Films of Félix-Louis Regnault," *Camera Obscura* 10, no. 1 28 (January 1992): 262-289.

[523] Félix Regnault, "Les Dahoméens au Champ de Mars de Paris," *La Nature* 21, no. 1041 (May 13, 1893): 373: "Le caractère dominant des Dahoméens, comme de tous les sauvages, est l'insouciance et la paresse. … Ils sont passionnés pour la danse et la musique. … La danse de guerre s'accompagne de mimiques expressives, mouvements épileptiformes tournoiement sur soimême, cris sauvages, gestes de lutte. …"

uphold Regnault's text. These men appear composed, exhibiting no signs of emotion or self-consciousness as they stand rigidly erect with legs astride. The blank space against which these men pose, bereft of the signs of the squalid huts or the barriers that separated them from the spectators on the Champ de Mars, distances them from the specificity of the indigenous villages that locked them into the timelessness of tribal life.

The healthy signs of a physically fit body – developed muscles and a lean physique –and clear signs of individuality contravene Abel Faivre's generic caricature of the recumbent and slothful primitive or the cowering form of Chocolat in Gerbault's poster. Despite the derision of his comments, Regnault also conceded an admiration for the physique of the Dahomeans who had been defeated only recently by the French. He wrote: "Their proportions are admirable; their shoulders wide, and their waists slender, their hands and feet fine enough. One also understands the travelers' admiration for these beautiful bronze statues."[524] Rather than confronting a grimacing, contorted specimen of dubious lineage to humanity, the reader of *La Nature* encountered a virile body unencumbered by the assaults on the psychic, physical, and sexual health that afflicted the modern French male. The placement of the drums between the Dahomean's legs conjured the hidden part of the black male anatomy that signified the black man's macrophallic endowment.

It is not surprising that cartoonists and satirists grasped the significance of the *bourgeoise's* attraction to the natural, primitive black male as a sexual partner who could satisfy her sexual desires left unfulfilled by her husband. *Le Rire*, for example, published one image by Abel Faivre in August, 1905 [Figure 72], in which a bald, portly, and middle-aged bourgeois returns home to find his wife in bed with a black man. The wife's fear at being discovered is assuaged by her

[524] Regnault, "Les Dahoméens au Champ de Mars de Paris," 371: "Les proportions sont admirables, les épauls larges, la taille mince et les extrémités assez fines. Aussi comprend-on l'admiration des voyageurs pour ces belles statues de bronze."

husband's benign reaction to his humiliation. Tipping his hat and bending over in a gesture of deference to his wife's lover, the bourgeois blithely remarks: "It is you, the Negro? Continue…"[525] The risk in endowing the black male with an extraordinary sexual power was that it inevitably meant comparing the white male body with that of the black. The perception of black sexual prowess, a tacit admission of a failing or deficiency on the part of the white bourgeois, was nevertheless grafted onto the stereotyping of the black male, and was used as another means of denying the black man agency. The humor in Faivre's illustration is also directed at the black lover, who in this image is stripped of his clothing as well as his agency. "It is you, the Negro? Continue," the cuckold exclaims with no sense of reproach, acknowledging that the black man cannot control or override his nature. The black man tucked in the bed is literally locked into an identity imposed on him. Situated between the objectifying gaze of the betrayed husband and his lover, he is helpless to respond in any other way than with a vacuous grin. If there was any consolation for the bourgeois's impotence – metaphorical and physical – it consisted of knowing that the black man could not free himself from "the ontological space of the timeless 'primitive'" that was constructed to contain him.[526]

The Fractured Self

As I stated earlier, it would be simplistic to suggest that Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat represents a form of black emasculation, for, as I have argued, Chocolat is not rendered as the quintessential primitive black man whose presence and nature would have been seen as the antithesis of the white male. In *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*, Toulouse-Lautrec liberates

[525] "Ciel! mon mari … C'est vous le nègre? Continuez …" *Le Rire* (August 25, 1905).

[526] Diana Fuss, "Interior Colonies: Frantz Fanon and the Politics of Identification**,"** *Diacritics* 24, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1994):19-42, articulates the way that the construction of metaphorical and real space is deployed to create boundaries foreclosing attempts of the Other to participate in his/her subjectivity.

Chocolat from his persona in the circus ring and from the controlling presence of Footit, frees him of his clown's attire, releases him from playing the buffoon, and allows him to emulate the white bourgeois or professional sportsman. One could argue that what I claim is liberation for Chocolat represents a variant of the objectification to which he was subjected as a performer. The aestheticization of his body as a graceful and androgynous figure dancing next to the young male harpist forces Chocolat to assume another role: an object of erotic desire. But in looking at the image of Chocolat, the white male viewer is also implicated in the objectification (or feminization)[527] of Chocolat and is entangled in the field of vision.

The spectacle of the debased *and* eroticized black male performer in the theatre, the colonial pavilions, at the circus, and in numerous images undoubtedly elicited both fear and longing from white women and men. But in those contexts and representations, the black male body was confined to and existed in an imagined, timeless, or surreal world. Within the homosocial world of drinking establishments such as the Irish and American Bar, the sight of the modern black male body, particularly a sexualized body, necessitated a negotiation of gender identities for it proffered the comparison of the black man's masculinity with the white man's and the danger of transgressive behavior. Toulouse-Lautrec's decision to render the black male performing body as sexually ambiguous and from behind may have alleviated the white man's envy of the black man's sexual prowess – the black male's claim to power – but it also hinted at the arbitrary nature of gender constructs for both the Other and the Self. And, the depiction of

[527] Nineteenth-century French racialist science and ideology repeatedly invoked the equation of the black with the infantile and the feminine. Despite attributing an exaggerated physical and sexual prowess to the black male, conservative and nationalist racialist science pronounced that black men (and women) were deprived biologically of the ability to reason and exercise moral judgment. This would explain their lethargy, other than when aroused by deviant physical passions. Reynard Paligot, in *La république raciale: paradigme racial et idéologie républicaine, 1860-1930*, 103-105, discusses the work of the late nineteenth-century psychologist Gustave Le Bon in perpetuating this notion. Two of the most influential nineteenth-century proselytizers of this view of the Negro were Gustave d'Eichthal and Arthur de Gobineau. See Gustave d'Eichthal and Ismayl Urbain, *Lettres sur la race noire et la race blanche* (Paris: Chez Paulin, 1839) and Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaine*, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1853-1855.)

Chocolat as sexually ambiguous could have also generated a possible homoerotic attraction to the black man. As Todd Reeser argues, "If white men are not supposed to have a relation with black men in some context, then the former may respond to that interdiction not by simply avoiding black masculinity but rather by creating a relation with it that he may not have had in the first place had not the interdiction not existed. Cultural constructs of black masculinity as [O]ther may, therefore, in fact create the very desire for interracial friendship or love that is theoretically denied or considered impossible."[528]

Toulouse-Lautrec's depiction of Chocolat's body and comportment can be read not as an opposition to but as a congruity with white masculinity as well. Denied the normative experience of viewing the black male body as grotesque materiality, the white male spectator encountered a body which mirrored aspects of his physical and psychic identity.[529] The sight of a self-controlled, self-possessed, physically fit body attired in clothing similar to that worn by modern sportsmen disrupted the certainty of who was submitting to the gaze and who was consigned to an objectified presence.[530] Simply put, the white male spectator would have seen himself, or a variant of himself,

---

[528] Reeser, "Masculinities and Racialized Subjectivities," *Masculinities in Theory*, 160. Eric Lott also discusses the possibility of homoerotic attraction between the white male audience and the blackface white male performer in nineteenth-century American minstrelsy through the appealing medium of the black man. In *Love and Theft*, 52, he writes: "But in thus mediating white men's relations with other white men, minstrel acts certainly made currency out of the black man himself, that obscure object of exchangeable desire. The stock in trade of the exchange so central to minstrelsy, that is to say, was black culture in the guise of an attractive masculinity."

[529] Bhabha's theory of mimicry presupposes the colonizer's desire to remake the colonized Other into an imperfect imitation of himself in which the colonizer reconciles two antithetical positions: claiming the Other through an act of narcissism and objectifying the colonized by casting him as aberrant. This ultimately proves futile, as the colonizer must also recognize the fractured nature of the Other which in turn negates the "myth of the undifferentiated whole white body." In "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *The Location of Culture*, 131, Bhabha writes: "In the ambivalent world of the 'not quite/not white', on the margins of metropolitan desire, the *founding objects* of the Western world become the erratic, eccentric, accidental *objets trouvés* of the colonial discourse – the part-objects of presence. … Black skin splits under the racist gaze, displaced into signs of bestiality, genitalia, grotesquerie, which reveal the phobic myth of the undifferentiated whole white body."

[530] My understanding of this reversal of the role of subject/object in the act of looking has been informed by Kobena Mercer's re-reading of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs of black men in "Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imaginary," in *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, 188-200. Initially troubled by what he perceived as the objectification of these men, the aestheticization of their bodies (which I see in Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat) in the photographs altered his reaction. He writes: "I suggested that the regulative function of the stereotype had the upper hand, as it were, and helped to 'fix' the spectator in the ideological subject-position of the

or a variant of how he wanted to be perceived, reflected in the image of Chocolat.[531] The performing body of Chocolat offered a vision of masculinity without regard to race and class. It was not only the black body that afforded a forbidden glimpse at the male form. Nineteenth-century sport such as riding and fencing, which attracted gentlemen as well as professional athletes, also granted the social elite and the bourgeois male the opportunity to view other men's bodies as spectators and participants.[532] The play or execution of movement merited the viewer's attention, but it was also the athlete's body in figure-hugging clothing that invited the gaze. The choice of the jockey's attire for Chocolat is significant. Horse racing was certainly one of the more popular and socially-inclusive spectator sports in nineteenth century France, but until the establishment of major race courses during the Second Empire, it was considered the domain of the wealthy and elite. "Le gentleman-rider" and "le jockey" entered the vocabulary and connoted elegance and refinement as well-to-do amateurs took on the physical risks of racing and steeple-chasing, wearing form-fitting silks whose colors also drew attention to their bodies.[533] The transgressive nature of the jockey's attire that exposes unashamedly the rider's lower body is captured in Toulouse-Lautrec's image in oil and watercolor of the well-known performer, *La Macarona in the Costume of a Jockey*, 1893, [Figure 73], whose body in cross-dress as a jockey

---

'white male subject.' Now I'm not so sure. … [T]he aesthetic irony that informs the juxtaposition of elements in [Mapplethorpe's] work can be seen as the trace of a subversive strategy that disrupts the stability of the binary oppositions into which difference is coded" (195).

[531] Tamar Garb, "Modelling the Male Body: Physical Culture, Photography and the Classical Ideal," in *Bodies of Modernity*: *Figure and Flesh in Fin-de Siècle France*, 54-79, discusses the late nineteenth-century movement promoting men's fitness and body building. Christopher E. Forth, in *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 172, analyzes the ideal of the male body at the end of the century "during which the once favorable figure of the prosperously corpulent man was being eclipsed by that of the muscular and energetic athlete or bodybuilder."

[532] Toby Miller in "A Short History of the Penis," *Social Text*, no. 43 (Autumn 1995): 1-26, offers an insightful analysis of the ways sports afford men a sanctioned and permissible means by which to observe and admire other men's bodies: "Sport allows/requires men to watch and dissect other men's bodies in fetishistic detail" (6).

[533] For more on nineteenth-century French horse racing and riders, see Kimberly Jones, "A Day at the Races: A Brief History of Horse Racing in France," in *Degas at the Races*, 208-225; Joseph-Antoine Roy, *Histoire du Jockey Club de Paris* (Paris: M. Rivière, 1958); and Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1981).

is defined here primarily by rounded curves. Bourgeois (and working class) men had other opportunities to observe and admire the sporting body. Toulouse-Lautrec's close friend, writer, and cycling enthusiast Tristan Bernard, recalled attending a rugby game with the artist:

> There also, Lautrec seemed less interested in the results of the game, in the trials and goals, than in the players themselves, who as a group looked like one huge bizarre animal with a thousand legs. … He stared at a Scottish quarter-back, a sort of colossus with a bulging neck and strong red-stockinged calves. At the sight of this man, Lautrec did not resort to the comparisons from antiquity. … Instead, he said to me admiringly, as he watched the robust quarter-back eyeing the ball with outstretched arms, "He looks like someone bringing wine bottles up from the cellar."[534]

This subversion of the gaze in the encounters between men – black and white, white and white – disrupted the social and racial hierarchies of who sees and who is seen.[535] The exchange between subject and object in Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat is profound: the black man assumes the bourgeois male's self-command and composure as the white male contemplates himself inhabiting an athletic body that is unselfconsciously displayed as an object of pleasure and desire. Griselda Pollock explores the possibility that Chocolat, endowed with mobility and grace, can be read as an imagined surrogate for the artist. She notes that in Toulouse-Lautrec's "self-portraits of 1887 or 1897 Henri colours himself with the 'fetish' of black skin, representing himself as *other* to his own class's ideal self. The changes to his physiognomy transcode for the disability of his legs, corresponding to the way in which it is Chocolat's motility he envies and yet represents as the colour of his face."[536]

As I have also argued, the concurrent break-down in racial typologies elicited an interrogation of the fixed markers of the racial type. Our attention is immediately drawn to the

---

[534] Quoted in Gale B. Murray, ed., *Toulouse-Lautrec: A Retrospective* (New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1992), 250.

[535] Mercer, **"**Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imaginary," 194.

[536] Griselda Pollock, "Fathers of Modern Art: Mothers of Invention: Cocking a Leg at Toulouse-Lautrec," *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), 86.

use of color to define skin color in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*. In this image, Chocolat's body metamorphosizes into white and blue; the sallow complexion of Ralph is transformed into a green mask; and a reddened complexion is superimposed on the face of a bourgeois who gazes at Chocolat. Here, the reification of the color spectrum associated with notions of racial difference is subverted and acknowledged as artifice.

Other aspects of physical dissimilarity between races also proved to be unfounded. After mid-century, detailed comparative anatomical examinations also included the "white European" as well as the "black" races. With millions of Europeans subjected to "anthropometric measurements" over the course of several decades after 1850, the scientific claims that once upheld European ideals of beauty and superiority and sustained racial essentialism were ultimately pronounced no longer tenable. As the hegemony of these broad racial categories was broken into what were deemed as more realistic and manageable "secondary races" – the "Mediterranean" Caucasian compared to the "Nordic" Caucasian, for example[537] – a host of distinct traits were recognized to separate these new racial classifications, but as these traits became more minutely defined, they, too, ultimately proved insupportable. Humankind had been so fractured that it was impossible to speak of "white" or "black" or "yellow" or "red" races. Anthropologists were compelled to address the credibility and exclusivity of the distinguishing physical characteristics which they had initially assigned to Negroes: among those were prognathism, uniform skin color, and the shape of the head.[538] Figuier ultimately conceded the fallacy of the undifferentiated black body, and Topinard granted that no race could be characterized as homogeneous. Figuier wrote in 1872:

---

[537] George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1982), 57. Stocking, 58, also states that as many as twenty-five million Europeans underwent anthropometry during the second half of the nineteenth century.

[538] See Gilles Boëtsch and Yann Ardagna, "Human Zoos: The 'Savage' and the Anthropologist," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, et al., 116: "From now on, the human being would no longer be understood as a whole, but would be dissected into a series of morphological variables."

> It was long admitted that prognathism, or projection of the jaws, was peculiar to the Negro race. But this opinion has been forced to yield to the discovery, that projecting jaws exist among people in no way connected with the Negro.[539]
>
> We must add that the colour of the skin is often difficult to fix, since the shades of colour merge into one another. All this must be said in order to show how difficult it is to form natural groups of the innumerable types of our species.[540]

Topinard clarified and reiterated these conclusions:

> All craniologists … have spoken of gracefully-formed skulls, with smooth contours and regular outlines, and of those with "heurtés" [clashing] features, of sombre, stern aspect, and of brutish appearance. … These forms, whether pleasing or brute-like, are to be met with in all races, in the European as well as in the negro.[541]
>
> The expression of race so frequently employed has therefore [assumed] a relative meaning, more often hypothetical. There is no pure race today.[542]

It was apparent that groups of human beings could not be thought of in "Platonic," essentialist terms, but must be understood to possess an assemblage of characteristics that did not obey racial boundaries.[543] Polygenist Paul Topinard, who served as secretary-general of the Société d'anthropologie de Paris from 1880 to 1886, remained committed to the theory of "superior" and "inferior" races.[544] However, in 1892, he pronounced: "Race in the present state of things is an abstract conception, a notion of continuity in discontinuity, of unity in diversity. It is the rehabilitation of a real, but directly unattainable thing."[545]

Chocolat's hybrid form – the fusion of specter and body, white and black, masculine and feminine, Self and Other – does manifest one conspicuous vestige of stereotyped, "essentialist,"

---

[539] Figuier, *The Human Race*, 26.
[540] Ibid., 29.
[541] Topinard, *Anthropology*, 213.
[542] Topinard, "Les races humaines," *La Nature* 16, no. 805 (October 27, 1888): 342: "L'expression de race si fréquemment employée a donc un sens très relatif, le plus souvent hypothétique. … Il n'y a pas de race pure aujourd'hui."
[543] Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*, 57. Stocking's use of the term "Platonic" to characterize racial typology is apt and he offers a superb distillation of the complexities of defining secondary races and the ultimate futility of this effort.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Quoted in William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899), 111-112.

and pure blackness. The solidly black arcing right hand punctuates the composition. Chocolat's elongated, contorted, and flexed fingers coalesce to give an impression of an appendage that resembles the human hand. In this central passage of the composition, one could argue that Toulouse-Lautrec reassigns the stereotyped grotesque nature of blackness to Chocolat. The hand emerging from Chocolat's elevated right arm, covered by the white close-fitting riding shirt, stands out as a disparate part of the body. Yet, this sinuous and tortuous mass of black pigment is a strangely elegant form seen suspended above the heads of the patrons and silhouetted against the blue tinted windows of the bar's facade. The appearance of the incommensurability of Chocolat's hand and body, what could be perceived as an attempt to sustain late nineteenth-century constructs of racial alterity and the alignment of blackness with the primitive and the abject, ultimately collapses. I want to suggest that Toulouse-Lautrec is acknowledging that the constituents of Chocolat's racial self, as well as the white man's racial self, cannot be circumscribed. Black and white identities intersect in Toulouse-Lautrec's image of Chocolat and racial boundaries are breached. But that rupture does not signify disunity; unmistakably, the co-existence of Chocolat's white body and black hand constitute oneness.

Conclusion

The strategies of racial classification and stereotyping in nineteenth-century France – which emphasized certain traits and behaviors and could be applied at once determinedly and indiscriminately to racialized populations – were fraught with inconsistencies. My goal has not been to undertake the ambitious task of analyzing the multiple models of nineteenth-century racial typology and stereotyping. Instead, I have looked closely at the visual stereotype of the seductive, dark-skinned female Spanish Gypsy and the primitive and debased black male, as well as at representations of the privileged, idealized, and respectable *bourgeoise* and the servile and unaesthetic black female body. As I hope I have shown, certain artists disrupted some of the conditioned expectations of depictions of the racialized body. I also demonstrated the paradoxical correspondence and oscillation between the racial stereotype and the culturally dominant power responsible for the stereotype's creation and perpetuation. These representations of racial difference may seem at first unproblematic, but what attracted me to these images, and what I have established in this study, are the ways they evoke the uncertainties and confusion of racial identity for both the racialized Other and the French in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In my study, I explored the congruous relationship between the white *bourgeoise* and the racialized body in Degas's *Portrait of Mme Camus*. The artist's application of fluid strokes of brown pigment across Mme Camus's face not only concealed her visage, but it also blurred racial boundaries between white and dark skin color and confronted, whether knowingly or not, the notion that whiteness was heterogeneous and contingent. Furthermore, as I also showed, the juxtaposition of Mme Camus with the semi-nude sculpture of a black male in Degas's

unconventional portrait suggested the interdependence of race and sexuality, and race and gender for white womanhood as well as the black male.

The reciprocity between race and sexuality, particularly the presumption that darker-skinned people were predisposed to sexually immoderate behavior, was such an entrenched idea during the nineteenth century that Manet's representation of a dispassionate female Spanish Gypsy can be understood as an obstruction of the stereotype's efficacy. In my second chapter, I demonstrated that Manet disrupted the racialized stereotype by darkening the skin color of his figure while he lessened the overt sexuality and sensuality associated with the female Spanish Gypsy at the time. The racialized stereotype – what had seemed resolutely knowable in the nineteenth century – was revealed in images like Manet's *Gypsy with a Cigarette* as ambiguous and, paradoxically, inauthentic especially when compared to other French depictions of the Spanish Gypsy. As I have shown, representations of the female Spanish Gypsy could not represent anything but an imprecise construction of racial identity because this stereotype was fashioned from a heterogeneous collection of ethnicities, behavioral traits, costume, and gender roles. Manet retained enough of the stereotyped notions of Spanish Gypsiness to make his figure marginally credible, but he also denied the Gypsy her alleged passionate nature and the tenuous certainty of a racial identity that other artists upheld.

Toulouse-Lautrec articulated the fracturing of the sense of wholeness and racial identity for the Self as well as the racialized Other in *Chocolat dansant dans un bar*. In this image, the artist conjoined whiteness and blackness (and subject and object) in his depiction of the popular *fin-de-siècle* clown, Chocolat. Rendering a black man in the all-white costume of a racing jockey allowed the artist to transform the racial Other into a similar, but unsettling and imperfect semblance of the white European male as Homi Bhabha theorizes in his essay on colonial

mimicry.[546] As I have shown, Chocolat's body represented the union of the dissimilar and analogous traits of the white and black masculine and controverted the claim of any "race" to singularity.

I also argued that Eurocentric notions of feminine beauty as they were constructed at the time were not incompatible with nineteenth-century definitions of the black woman. I established that Bazille's representation of the black female body in three images, *La Toilette* and the two *Négresse aux pivoines*, proposed an aesthetically pleasing body that did not annul racial identity, but conjured a racial *and* particularized body. In more conventional painting, the black female body often functioned as a pictorial contrivance to reinforce the chromatic and racial incommensurability between the white and black female body and to highlight the inviting and appealing qualities of the white woman's skin. But, as I have shown, the site of desirability and allure is not exclusively fixed on the white female nude in *La Toilette*. Instead, it is the black woman's individualized skin color, built up of warm and luminous hues, which attracts the viewer's attention. Beauty and desirability, no longer the exclusive characteristics of the white woman, are here inscribed onto the black female body.

That Bazille should approach the depiction of the black female body in an innovative and unconventional way is not surprising given the proliferation and fluctuation of theories of race in the late nineteenth century. The expansive number of scientific studies and the pervasive textual and visual images in high and popular culture that explored race and racial difference represented multiple emphases: color of skin, texture of hair, facial angle, cranial measurement and capacity, the presence of pure or contaminated blood, level of intelligence, and overt signs of sexuality

[546] Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *The Location of Culture* (1994; repr., London: Routledge Classics, 2004), 121-131.

were among those qualities given prominence in these works.[547] The systematization of racial determinants was not limited to these, but could be expanded to include other criteria as well. It is worth stressing that in all of these contexts, the white (French, European) body was also implicated. To establish a racial hierarchy, the French had to include themselves in a structure of racial classifications, if only as a point of comparison with populations of color. As I have shown, it was not possible to claim absolute separation among races and, by mid-century, the discourse on race encompassed miscegenation and the concept of biological hybridity. By the end of the nineteenth century, notions of French racial and national identity could be characterized as having been unstable. Contributing to this sense of uncertainty, prominent anthropologist Paul Topinard, in 1876, unequivocally pronounced that humankind was and had been irreparably heterogeneous for millennia: "Races have been divided, dispersed, intermixed, crossed in various proportions and in all directions, for thousands of ages."[548]

The proximity to racialized populations for the French at home and in their colonies necessitated for an increasingly anxious public what turned out to be a futile attempt to reinforce the boundaries of separation and to reject the notion that racial and cultural borders had been irretrievably breached.[549] But what I have explored in this study is the negotiation of racial and cultural boundaries, the coexistence of sameness and difference, and the formation of new kinds of identities. Hybrid zones, where these identities are shaped, may be, according to Homi

---

[547] See Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), for an excellent analysis of the principles on which race was defined in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.

[548] Paul Topinard, *Anthropology*, trans. Robert T. H. Bartley (London: Chapman and Hall, 1890), 443. Originally published as *L'anthropologie* (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1876).

[549] The anthropological research and procedures for anthropometric calculations that Paul Broca and Topinard pioneered in the 1860s and 1870s remained focused on generating greater divisions of racial taxonomy, classification and identification of types (Topinard preferred the use of the term "types" to "race" because of his declaration that no race could assert its purity or homogeneity), and tacitly sustained current stereotypes. Nineteenth-century racial science attempted to corroborate some, if not all, of the characteristics fixed to the racial type. See Topinard, *Anthropology*, and Paul Broca, ed., *Revue d'anthropologie*, vol. 1 (Paris: C. Reinwald, 1872).

Bhabha, sites of ambivalence – where difference is acknowledged and disavowed – but hybrid zones are also sites of transformation, inventiveness, and "possibility."[550] In the images I examined, Degas, Manet, Bazille, and Toulouse-Lautrec depicted figures whose skin color, physiognomy, comportment, and sexuality call attention to the disjunctive relationship between these characteristics and increasingly anachronistic definitions of race. Through nuanced readings of these images, I hope I have established that these works also acknowledged, consciously or unconsciously, the differentiated and fragmented racial identities not just of the person of color but also of the "white" European in late nineteenth-century France.

[550] This term is Robert J. C. Young's in "The Void of Misgiving," *Communicating in the Third Space*, ed. Karin Ikas and Gerhard Wagner (New York: Routledge, 2009), 93. Also see Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," *The Location of Culture*, 56.

Bibliography

Abrantès, Laure Junot. *Souvenirs d'une ambassade et d'un séjour en Espagne et en Portugal, de 1808 à 1811*. Brussels: Hauman, Cattoir, 1838. http://books.google.com/books?id=BVkuAAAAMAAJ.

Ackerman, Gerald M. *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, with a Catalogue Raisonné*. London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986.

Adamson, Walter L. *Embattled Avant-Gardes: Modernism's Resistance to Commodity Culture in Europe.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Adler, Kathleen. *Manet*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1986.

Alexandre, Arsène. *L'art du rire et de la caricature*. Paris: Quantin, Librairies-imprimeries réunies, 1892.

Alloula, Malek. *The Colonial Harem*. Translation by Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

Al-Matary, Sarah. "L'archéologie verbale de Prosper Mérimée: du mythe personnel au mythe scientifique." In *Le mythe des bohémiens dans la littérature et les arts en Europe*, edited by Sarga Moussa, 127-147. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008.

Anzieu, Didier. *The Skin Ego*. Translated by Chris Turner. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.

Armstrong, Carol. *Manet Manette*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

———.*Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2003.

Ashley, Katherine. *Edmond de Goncourt and the Novel: Naturalism and Decadence*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005.

Augé, Jean-Louis, Eliseo Trenc Ballester, and Hélène Frétet. *Les peintres français et l'Espagne: de Delacroix à Manet: Musée Goya – Castres, 11-juillet-5 octobre 1997*. Castres: Musée Goya, 1997.

Auraix-Jonchière, Pascale, and Gérard Loubinoux. *La bohémienne, figure poétique de l'errance aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. Actes du colloque du Centre de recherches révolutionnaires et romantiques, Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand, 12-14 mars 2003*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2005.

Bachollet, Raymond. *Négripub: l'image des Noirs dans la publicité*. Paris: Somogy, 1992.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1968.

Bal, Mieke. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Bancel, Nicolas, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire, eds. *Zoos humains XIXe et XXe siècles*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2002.

Bancel, Nicolas, Pascal Blanchard, and Laurent Gervereau, eds. *Images et colonies: iconographie et propagande coloniale sur l'Afrique française de 1880 à 1962*. Nanterre: Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine; Paris: Association Connaissance de l'histoire de l'Afrique contemporaine, 1993.

Banville, Théodore de. *L'ame de Paris; nouveaux souvenirs*. Paris: Charpentier, 1890. http://books.google.com/books?id=Mak-AAAAYAAJ.

Barbier, Alexandre. *Salon de 1839*. Paris: Joubert, 1839.

Barzun, Jacques. *Race: A Study in Superstition*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Batchelor, David. *Chromophobia*. London: Reaktion Books, 2000.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions Reviewed by Charles Baudelaire*. Translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne. London: Phaidon Press, 1965.

———.*The Flowers of Evil*. Translated by James McGowan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

———.*Œuvres complètes*. Edited by Marcel A. Ruff. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968.

———.*The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne. London: Phaidon Press, 1964.

———.*The Prose Poems and La Fanfarlo*. Translated by Rosemary Lloyd. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Baum, Bruce David. *The Rise and Fall of the Caucasian Race: A Political History of Racial Identity*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Baumann, Felix, and Marianne Karabelnik, eds. *Degas Portraits*, exh. cat. London: Merrell Holberton, 1994.

Baxandall, Michael. *Shadows and Enlightenment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Bazille, Frédéric. *Correspondance.* Edited by Guy Barral and Didier Vatuone. Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc, 1992.

Benfey, Christopher. "Degas and New Orleans: Exorcizing the Exotic." In *Degas and New Orleans*: *A French Impressionist in America*, exh. cat., edited by Gail Feigenbaum, 23-31. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art in conjunction with Ordrupgaard, 1999.

Benjamin, Roger. *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1999.

Benthien, Claudia. *Skin: On the Cultural Border Between Self and the World*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Bergner, Gwen. "Who Is That Masked Woman? Or, the Role of Gender in Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*." *PMLA* 110, no. 1 (1995): 75-88.

Berman, Patricia G. "Edvard Munch's *Self-Portrait with Cigarette*: Smoking and the Bohemian Persona." *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December 1993): 627-646.

Bernard, Tristan. *Souvenirs et anecdotes*. Paris: Le Cherche midi, 1992.

Bernasconi, Robert, ed. *Race*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001.

Bernasconi, Robert, and Tommy L. Lott, eds. *The Idea of Race*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2000.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture.* 1994. Reprint, London: Routledge Classics, 2004.

Blanc, Charles. *Art in Ornament and Dress.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1877. Originally published as *L'art dans la parure et dans le vetement*. Paris: Renouard, H. Loones, successeur, 1875.

———.*Grammaire des arts du dessin*: *architecture, sculpture, peinture*. Paris: Renouard, 1867.

———.*Les beaux-arts à l'Exposition universelle de 1878*. Paris: Renouard, 1878. http://books.google.com/books?id=ODcGAAAAQAAJ.

Blanc, Charles, W. Burger, Paul Mantz, L. Viardot, and Paul Lefort. *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles*: *École Espagnole*. Paris: Renouard, 1869.

Blanchard, Pascal, Éric Deroo, and Gilles Manceron. *Le Paris noir*. Paris: Éditions Hazan, 2001.

Blanchard, Pascal, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Fordick, eds. *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*. Translated by Teresa Bridgeman. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

Blanchard, Pascal, Sandrine Lemaire, and Nicolas Bancel, eds. *Culture coloniale en France: de la Révolution française à nos jours.* Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2008.

Blanckaert, Claude. "Of Monstrous Métis? Hybridity, Fear of Miscegenation, and Patriotism from Buffon to Paul Broca." In *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, edited by Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall, 43-70. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

———."On the Origins of French Ethnology." In *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology*, edited by George W. Stocking, 18-55. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

Blondel, Spire. *Le tabac: le livre des fumeurs et des priseurs*. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1891.

Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich, K. F. H. Marx, P. Flourens, Rudolph Wagner, and John Hunter. *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach.* Translated by Thomas Bendyshe. London: Published for the Anthropological Society, by Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865.

Boëtsch, Gilles, and Yann Ardagna. "Human Zoos: The 'Savage' and the Anthropologist." In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, edited by Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 113-122. Translated by Teresa Bridgeman. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

Boggs, Jean Sutherland, et al. *Degas*, exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988.

———.*Portraits by Degas*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.

Boggs, Jean Sutherland, Shelley Sturman, Daphne Barbour, and Kimberly Jones. *Degas at the Races*, ext. cat. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Boime, Albert. *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.

Bonner, Thomas Neville. *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1750-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Bonnet, Marie-Jo. *Les Relations amoureuses entre les femmes, XVIe-XXe siècle*: *essai historique*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2001.

Borrow, George Henry. *The Zincali, An Account of the Gypsies of Spain*. 1841. London: J. Murray, 1893.

Bourgoing, Jean-François, Baron de. *Travels in Spain: Containing a New, Accurate, and Comprehensive View of the Present State of that Country. By the Chevalier de Bourgoanne. To which are added, copious extracts from the essays on Spain of M. Peyron. Translated from the French. Illustrated with four copper-plates.* ... 3 vols. London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster-Row, 1789. Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. Gale. University of Kansas Libraries. http://find.galegroup.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW103397970&source=gale&userGroupName=ksstate_ukans&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

Braddock, Alan C. *Thomas Eakins and the Cultures of Modernity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009.

Broca, Paul. *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*. Edited by C. Carter Blake. London: Published for the Anthropological Society by Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1864.

———.*Sur la prétendue dégénérescence de la population française*. Paris: Imprimerie de E. Martinet, 1867.

———, ed. *Revue d'anthropologie*, Vol. 1. Paris: C. Reinwald, 1872. http://books.google.com/books?id=-3JejFG08s4C.

Brombert, Beth Archer. *Édouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1996.

Bronfen, Elisabeth. "Facing Defacement: Degas's Portraits of Women." In *Degas Portraits*, exh. cat., edited by Felix Baumann and Marianne Karabelnik, 226-249. London: Merrel Holberton, 1994.

Broude, Norma, "Degas's 'Misogyny.'" *The Art Bulletin* 59, no. 1 (March 1977): 95-107.

———, ed. *Gustave Caillebotte and the Fashioning of Identity in Impressionist Paris*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Brown, Marilyn R. *Degas and the Business of Art: The 'Cotton Office' in New Orleans*. University Park: Published for College Art Association by The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

———.*Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth-Century France.* Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985.

———."The Image of the Bohémien from Diaz to Manet and Van Gogh." PhD diss., Yale University, 1978.

———.“Manet’s *Old Musician*: Portrait of a Gypsy and Naturalist Allegory.” *Studies in the History of Art* 8 (1978): 78-87.

———.“‘Miss La La’s’ Teeth: Reflections on Degas and ‘Race.’” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (December 2007): 738-765.

———.“A Tale of Two Families: The De Gas-Musson Correspondence at Tulane University.” In *Degas and New Orleans*: *A French Impressionist In America*, exh. cat., edited by Gail Feigenbaum, 67-97. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art in conjunction with Ordrupgaard, 1999.

Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de. *The Natural History of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals; with the Theory of the Earth in General. Translated from the French of Count de Buffon. Intendant of the Royal Gardens in France; Member of the French Academy, of the Academy of Sciences, and of the Royal Societies of London Berlin, & c. by W. Kenrick, L.L.D. and J. Murdoch. ...* Volume 1. London printed for, and sold by T. Bell, (no. 26.) Bell-Yard, Temple-Bar, MDCCLXXV. [1775]-1776. Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. Gale. University of Kansas Libraries. http://find.galegroup.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW107877717&source=gale&userGroupName=ksstate_ukans&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

Bührle, Emil Georg, Christian Bührle, Ann Dumas, Charles S. Moffett, Marla Prather, Mary A. Stevens, Janice Tomlinson, et al. *Passionate Eye: Impressionist and Other Master Paintings from the Collection of Emil G. Bührle*, exh. cat. Munich: Artemis, 1990.

Burt, Ramsay. *The Male Dancer: Bodies, Spectacle, Sexualities*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2007.

Cachin, Françoise, Michel Melot, Charles S. Moffett, and Juliet Wilson-Bareau. *Manet, 1832-1883*, exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983.

Callen, Anthea. “The Body and Difference: Anatomy Training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the Later Nineteenth Century. *Art History* 20, no. 1 (March 1997): 23-60.

———.*The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, and Meaning in the Work of Degas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Castagnary, Jules Antoine. “Le Salon de 1868.” In *Le bilan de l’année 1868, politique, littéraire, dramatique*. Paris: Armand le Chevalier, 1869. http://books.google.com/books?id=RiwbAAAAYAAJ.

Castleman, Riva, and Wolfgang Wittrock, eds. *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec: Images of the 1890’s*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1985.

Chalaye, Sylvie. *Nègres en images*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2002.

———.*Du noir au nègre: l'image du noir au théaȋre: de Marguerite de Navarre à Jean Genet (1550-1960)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998.

Champa, Kermit Swiler. *Studies in Early Impressionism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973.

Champa, Kermit Swiler, and Dianne W. Pitman. *Monet & Bazille: A Collaboration*. Edited by David A. Brenneman. Atlanta, GA: High Museum of Art, 1999.

Charnon-Deutsch, Lou. *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

Chasles, Philarète. "Les Gypsies. *The Zincali* by George Borrow." *Revue des deux mondes* 27 (July-September 1841): 462-479. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k868786.image.langFR.f463.

Chevreul, Michel-Eugène. *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and Their Applications to the Arts*. 3rd ed. Translated by Charles Martel. London: H.G. Bohn, 1860. Originally published as *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs, et de l'assortiment des objets colorés, considéré d'après cette loi*. Paris: Pitois-Levrault, 1839.

Childs, Elizabeth C. *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.

Clair, Jean, ed. *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown*. exh. cat. Translated by Marcia Couëlle. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2004.

Claparède, Jean. "Bazille à Montpellier." *Réforme* (June 24, 1950): 5.

Clark, T. J. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*. Rev. ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

———."Preliminaries to a Possible Treatment of 'Olympia'in 1865." *Screen* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 18-41.

Clayson, Hollis. "Henri Regnault's Wartime Orientalism." In *Orientalism's Interlocutors*: *Painting, Architecture, Photography*, edited by Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts, 131-178. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Cocteau, Jean. *Portraits-souvenir, 1900-1914*. Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1953.

Cohen, William B. *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Colmeiro, José F. “Exorcising Exoticism: ‘Carmen’ and the Construction of Oriental Spain.” *Comparative Literature* 54, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 127-144.

Condillac, Etienne Bonnot de. *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*. 1745. Translated by Hans Aarsleff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

———.*Condillac’s Treatise on the Sensations*. 1754. Translated by Margaret Geraldine Spooner Carr. London: Favil Press, 1930.

Conklin, Alice L. “Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895-1914.” *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 419-442.

Connor, Steven. *The Book of Skin*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.

Cordier, Charles. “Types ethniques représentés par la sculpture.” *Bulletin de la Société d’anthroplogie de Paris* 3 (February 6, 1862): 65-68.

Cosdon, Mark. *The Hanlon Brothers: From Daredevil Acrobatics to Spectacle Pantomime, 1833-1931*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009.

Crosland, Maurice. “Popular Science and the Arts: Challenges to Cultural Authority in France under the Second Empire.” *The British Journal for the History of Science* 34, no. 3 (September 2001): 301-322.

Cuvier, Georges, P.-Ch. Joubert, and François Lubin Passard. *Discours sur les révolutions du globe: études sur l’ibis et mémoire sur la Vénus Hottentote*. Paris: Passard, Libraire-Éditeur, 1864. http://books.google.com/books?id=kOEJAAAAMAAJ.

Daulte, François. *Frédéric Bazille et les débuts de l’impressionnisme: catalogue raisonné de l’œuvre peint*. Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1992.

———.*Frédéric Bazille et son temps*. Geneva: P. Cailler, 1952.

Davillier, Jean-Charles, and Gustave Doré. *Voyage en Espagne: le tour du monde, 1862-1873*. Facsimile, Valencia: Albatros Editores, 1974.

Davis, John, and Jaroslaw Leshko. *The Smith College Museum of Art: European and American Painting and Sculpture, 1760-1960*. New York: Hudson Hill Press, 2000.

Degas, Edgar Germain Hilaire. *Letters*. Edited by Marcel Guerin. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1947.

———.*The Notebooks of Edgar Degas. A Catalogue of the Thirty-eight Notebooks in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Other Collections*. Edited by Theodore Reff. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

DeGuzmán, María. *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Delafond, Marianne, and Caroline Genet-Bondeville. *Frédéric Bazille*. Lausanne: Bibliothèque des arts; Paris: Musée Marmottan Monet, 2003.

Delestre, Jean-Bernard. *De la physiognomonie; texte-dessin-gravure*. Paris: Renouard, 1866. http://books.google.com/books?id=Orw9AAAAcAAJ.

Doane, Mary Ann. *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis*. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Dobie, Madeleine. *Foreign Bodies: Gender, Language, and Culture in French Orientalism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Dolan, Therese. "Frédéric Bazille and the Goncourt Brothers' *Manette Salomon*." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 115, no. 1453 (February 1990): 99-103.

———.*Gavarni and the Critics*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981.

———."Skirting the Issue: Manet's *Portrait of Baudelaire's Mistress, Reclining*." *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 611-629.

Dortu, M. G. *Toulouse-Lautrec et son œuvre*. 6 vols. New York: Collector's Editions, 1971.

Druick, Douglas W., and Peter Zegers, "Scientific Realism: 1873-1881." In *Degas*, exh. cat., edited by Jean Sutherland Boggs, 197-211. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988.

Dumas, Alexandre, *père*. *Georges.* 1843. Translated by Tina A. Kover. Edited by Werner Sollors. New York: Modern Library, 2007.

Dumas, Alexandre, *père*, and Pierre François Eugène Giraud. *De Paris à Cadix: impressions de voyage*. 1846. Paris: Somogy, 2001.

Dumas, Ann, et al. *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, exh. cat. Translated by Mark Polizzotti. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

Dunbar-Nelson, Alice Moore. "People of Color in Louisiana." In *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*, edited by Sybil Kein, 3-41. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.

Duplay, Maurice. "Deux modèles de Toulouse-Lautrec." *Les Annales. Revue mensuelle des lettres françaises* 72, no. 171 (1965): 45-49.

Duranty, Edmond. “The New Painting: Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel Galleries.” In *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886,* exh. cat., edited by Charles S. Moffett, 37-47. San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986.

Duret, Théodore. *Critique d’avant-garde*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1885.

———.*Histoire de Édouard Manet et de son œuvre: avec un catalogue des peintures et des pastels*. 4th ed. Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 1926.

———.*Lautrec*. Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 1920.

———.*Manet and the French Impressionists: Pissarro—Claude Monet—Sisley—Renoir—Berthe Morisot—Cézanne—Guillaumin*. Translated by John Ernest Crawford Flitch. London: G. Richards, 1910.

Dyer, Richard. *White*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Edwards, Tim. *Cultures of Masculinity*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Eichthal, Gustave d’, and Ismayl Urbain. *Lettres sur la race noire et la race blanche.* Paris: Chez Paulin, 1839. http://books.google.com/books?id=HZ4RAAAAMAAJ.

Esparbès, Georges d’, André Ibels, Maurice Lefèvre, and Georges Montorgueil. *Les demi-cabots; le café-concert, le cirque, les forains*. Illustrations by Henri-Gabriel Ibels. Paris: G. Charpentier et E. Fasquelle, 1896.

Essed, Philomena, and David Theo Goldberg, eds. *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

Fau, Julien. *Anatomie des formes du corps humain à l’usage des peintures et des sculpteurs*. 2nd ed. Paris: Méquignon-Marvis, 1865. http://books.google.com/books?id=DQc9AAAAYAAJ.

Faunce, Sarah, and Linda Nochlin. *Courbet Reconsidered*, exh. cat. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1988.

Fausto-Sterling. Anne. “Gender, Race, and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of ‘Hottentot’ Women in Europe, 1815-17.” In *Skin Deep, Spirit Strong: The Black Female Body in American Culture,* edited by Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, 66-93. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Feigenbaum, Gail, Jean Sutherland Boggs, Christopher Benfey, Marilyn R. Brown, James B. Byrnes, Victoria Cooke, and Christine Vella. *Degas and New Orleans: A French Impressionist in America*, exh. cat. New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art; Copenhagen: Ordrupgaard, 1999.

Fend, Mechthild. "Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860." *Art History* 28, no. 3 (2005): 311-339.

Fevre, Jeanne. *Mon oncle Degas: souvenirs et documents inédits*. Geneva: P. Cailler, 1949.

Figuier, Louis. *The Human Race*. New York: D. Appleton & Company 1872. Originally published as *Les races humaines*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1872. http://books.google.com/books?id=QxcD_Rtb12sC.

Flescher, Sharon. *Zacharie Astruc, Critic, Artist, and Japoniste (1833-1907)*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978.

Forgione, Nancy, "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris." *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September 1999): 490-512.

Forth, Christopher E. *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1, *An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1980.

———.*The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1973.

Franc-Nohain, René Vincent, and Henri Duvernois. *Les Mémoires de Footit et Chocolat clowns: recueillis par Franc-Nohain; illustrations en couleurs de René Vincent.* Preface by Henri Duvernois. Paris: P. Lafitte, 1907.

Frankenberg, Ruth, ed. *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.

———.*White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Fraser, Angus. *The Gypsies*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Frèches-Thory, Claire, Anne Roquebert, and Richard Thomson. *Toulouse-Lautrec*, exh. cat. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.

Freud, Sigmund. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. 13, *Totem and Taboo and Other Works* (1913-1914). Translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1953.

———.“The ‘Uncanny.’” In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. 17, *An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works* (1917-1919). Translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1953.

———.*The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. 20, *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* (1925-1926). Translated by James Strachey. London: Hogarth Press, 1953.

Frey, Julia. *Toulouse-Lautrec: A Life*. New York: Viking, 1994.

Friedman, David M. *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis*. New York: Free Press, 2001.

Fuss, Diana. “Interior Colonies: Frantz Fanon and the Politics of Identification.” *Diacritics* 24, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1994): 19-42.

Garb, Tamar. *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de Siècle France*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998.

———.*The Painted Face: Portraits of Women in France, 1814-1914*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

Garraway, Doris. “Race, Reproduction and Family Romance in Moreau de Saint-Méry’s *Description … de la partie française de l’isle Saint-Domingue*.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 227-246.

Garrigus, John. “Race, Gender, and Virtue in Haiti’s Failed Foundational Fiction*: La mulâtre comme il y a peu de blanches* (1803).” In *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, edited by Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall, 73-94. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., ed. *“Race,” Writing, and Difference*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Gautier, Théophile. *The Complete Works*. Vol. 12, *Art and Criticism, Enamels and Cameos and Other Poems*. Translated and edited by Frederick C. de Sumichrast. Boston: C.T. Brainard, 1900.

———.*De la mode*. 1858. Illustrations by Romuald Genevois. Besançon: Éditions Cardinal, 2004.

———.*A Romantic in Spain* (*Voyage en Espagne*). Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips, 1926. Oxford: Signal Books, 2001.

———.“Salon de 1853.” *La Presse* (July 20, 1853): 1-2. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k476298w.

———.*The Travels of Théophile Gautier*. Vol. 1, *Travels in Spain*. Translated and edited by F. C. de Sumichrast. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1912.

———.*Voyage en Espagne*; *suivi de España*. Edited by Patrick Berthier. Paris: Gallimard, 1980.

Gay y Blasco, Paloma. *Gyspies in Madrid: Sex, Gender and the Performance of Identity*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.

Gerdy, Pierre-Nicolas. *Anatomie des formes extérieures du corps humain, appliquée à la peinture, à la sculpture et à la chirurgie*. Paris: Béchet, 1829. http://books.google.com/books?id=-PUqAAAAYAAJ.

Gerstein, Marc. "Degas's Fans." *The Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (March 1982): 105-118.

Giddings, Paula. *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*. New York: W. Morrow, 1984.

Gilman, Sander L. **"**Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 204-242.

———.*Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Gilman, Sander L., and Zhou Xun, eds. *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*. London: Reaktion Books, 2004.

Giret, Noëlle. *Les arts du cirque au XIXe siècle*. Publication par la Bibliothèque nationale de France. Arcueil: Éditions Anthèse, 2001.

———.*Des clowns,* exh. cat. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2001.

Gobineau, Joseph-Arthur, Comte de. *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. 4 vols. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1853-1855.

———.*Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines.* Paris: P. Belfond, 1967.

——— *The Inequality of Human Races*. Translated by Adrian Collins. New York: Howard Fertig, 1967.

Godrey, Sima. "Baudelaire, Gautier, and '*une toilette savamment composée*.'" In *Modernity and Revolution in Late Nineteenth-Century France*, edited by Barbara T. Cooper and Mary Donaldson-Evans, 74-87. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992.

Goldberg, David Theo, ed. *Anatomy of Racism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.

Goncourt, Edmond de, and Jules de Goncourt. *Journal de Goncourt: mémoires de la vie littéraire, 1851-1861*. Vol. 1. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1887.

———.*Journal; mémoires de la vie littéraire, 1871-1875.* Vol. X. Edited by Robert Ricatte. Monaco: Imprimerie nationale, 1956.

Gordon, Rae Beth. *Dances with Darwin, 1875-1910: Vernacular Modernity in France*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009.

Gottschild, Brenda Dixon. *The Black Dancing Body: A Geography from Coon to Cool*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Gould, Evlyn. *The Fate of Carmen*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Gould, Stephen Jay. *Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History*. New York: Norton, 1991.

———.*The Flamingo's Smile: Reflections in Natural History*. New York: Norton, 1985.

———.*The Mismeasure of Man*. Rev. ed. New York: Norton, 1996.

Grellmann, Heinrich. *Dissertation on the Gipsies, Being an Historical Enquiry, Concerning the Manner of Life, Economy, Customs and Conditions of These People in Europe, and Their Origin. Written in German, by Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellmann. Translated into English by Matthew Raper, Esq. F. R. S. & A. S.* London: Printed for the editor, by G. Bigg, and to be had of P. Elmsley, and T. Cadell, in the Strand, and J. Sewell, in Cornhill, 1787. Eighteenth-Century Collections Online. Gale. University of Kansas Libraries. http://find.galegroup.com.www2.lib.ku.edu:2048/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW103546470&source=gale&userGroupName=ksstate_ukans&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

Griebel, Helen Bradley. "New Raiments of Self: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994.

Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

———."Orients and Colonies: Delacroix's Algerian Harem." In *The Cambridge Companion to Delacroix*, edited by Beth S. Wright, 69-87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Guégan, Stéphane. *Théodore Chassériau, 1819-1856: The Unknown Romantic*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.

Guest, Ivor. "Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing." *Dance Chronicle* 10, no. 1 (1987):1-104.

Hale, Dana S. “French Images of Race on Product Trademarks during the Third Republic.” In *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*, edited by Sue Peabody and Tyler Stovall, 131-146. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

———.*Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples, 1886-1940*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.

Hall. Kim F. *Things of Darkness: Economics of Race and Gender in Early Modern England.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Hamilton, George Heard. *Manet and His Critics*. New York: Norton, 1969.

Hannaway, Caroline, and Ann Elizabeth Fowler La Berge, eds. *Constructing Paris Medicine*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.

Hanson, Anne Coffin. “Édouard Manet, ‘Les Gitanos’, and the Cut Canvas.” *The Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 804 (March 1970): 158-167.

———.*Édouard Manet, 1832-1883*, exh. cat. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1966.

Harris, Michael D. *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Harrison, Charles, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger. *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Harrow, Susan. “Thérèse Raquin: Animal Passion and the Brutality of Reading.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Emile Zola*, edited by Brian Nelson, 105-120. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Hatt, Michael. “Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture.” *Oxford Art Journal* 15, no. 1 (1992): 21-35.

Herbert, Robert L. *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.

Hilaire, Michel, Jörg Zutter and Olivier Zeder, eds. *French Paintings from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*, exh. cat. Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2003.

Hill, Mike, ed. *Whiteness: A Critical Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.

Hiner, Susan. *Accessories to Modernity: Fashion and the Feminine in Nineteenth-Century France*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Hodes, Martha. *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South*. New Haven. CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

Hoffmann, Léon-François. *La nègre romantique; personnage littéraire et obsession collective*. Paris: Payot, 1973.

———.*Romantique Espagne; l'image de l'Espagne en France entre 1800 et 1850*. Princeton, NJ: Université de Princeton, Départment de langues romanes, 1961.

Holt, Richard. *Sport and Society in Modern France*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1981.

Honour, Hugh. *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. Vol. 4, Parts 1 and 2, *From the American Revolution to World War I*. Houston: Menil Foundation, 1976.

hooks, bell. *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Hopwood, Derek. *Sexual Encounters in the Middle East: The British, the French and the Arabs*. Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 1999.

Huddart, David. *Homi K. Bhabha*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Hugo, Victor. *Bug-Jargal*. 1826. Edited and translated by Chris Bongie. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2004.

———.*The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. *Notre-Dame de Paris*. 1831. Translated by Catherine Liu. New York: The Modern Library, 2002.

———.*Les Orientales*; *édition critique avec une introduction*. 1829. Edited by Élisabeth Barineau. Paris: M. Didier, 1968.

Hyde, Melissa. *Making up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006.

———."The 'Make-up' of the Marquise." *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (September 2000): 453-475.

Jablonski, Nina G. *Skin: A Natural History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.

Jean-Jacques Maurouard, Elvire. *Les beautés noires de Baudelaire*. Paris: Karthala, 2005.

Jones, Louisa E. *Sad Clowns and Pale Pierrots: Literature and the Popular Comic Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*. Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1984.

Jourdan, Aleth, et al. *Frédéric Bazille: Prophet of Impressionism*, exh. cat. Translated by John Goodman. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1992.

Joyant, Maurice. *Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, 1864-1901*. 2 vols. Paris: H. Floury, 1926-1927.

Kalmar, Ivan Davidson. “The *Houkah* in the Harem: On Smoking and Orientalist Art.” In *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, edited by Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun, 218-229. London: Reaktion Books, 2004.

Kein, Sybil, ed. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana’s Free People of Color*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000.

Kendall, Richard, and Griselda Pollock, eds. *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*. New York: Universe, 1992.

Kendall, Richard, Anthea Callen, and Dillian Gordon. *Degas, Images of Women*, exh. cat. London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1989.

Kessler, Marni Reva. *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet’s Paris*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Klein, Richard. *Cigarettes are Sublime*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

La Berge, Ann, and Mordechai Feingold, eds. *French Medical Culture in the Nineteenth Century*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994.

Larousse, Pierre. *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*. 1866-1890. 24 vols. Reprint, Nîmes, Gard: C. Lacour, 1990.

Larson, Barbara. “Review: The Artist as Ethnographer: Charles Cordier and Race in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France.” *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (December 2005): 714-722.

Laurie, André, Arthur Ranc, Francisque Sarcey, and Jules Antoine Castagnary. *Le bilan de l’année 1868, politique, littéraire, dramatique*. Paris: Armand le Chevalier, 1869. http://books.google.com/books?id=RiwbAAAAYAAJ.

LeBlanc, Jennifer Fortier. *Acadian Palmetto Braiding: The Folk Art of Elvina Kidder*. Lafayette, LA: Lafayette Natural History Museum, 1982.

Leblon, Bernard. *Gypsies and Flamenco*: *The Emergence of the Art of Flamenco in Andalusia.* Translated by Sinéad ní Shuinéar. Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2003.

———.*Les gitans d’Espagne: le prix de la différence*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985.

Leclercq, Paul. *Autour de Toulouse-Lautrec*. Paris: H. Floury, 1921.

Lees, Sarah, ed. *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet!: The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*, exh. cat. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux; Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2004.

Lemaire, Gérard-Georges. *L'univers des orientalistes*. Paris: Éditions Place des Victoires, 2000.

Lemaître, Jules. *Impressions de théâtre*. Vol. 1. Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1892-1901.

Lemoisne, Paul-André. *Degas et son œuvre*. Paris, Plon, 1954.

———.*Degas et son œuvre*. 4 vols. Paris: P. Brame et C.M. de Hauke, aux Arts et métiers graphiques, 1947.

Lemonnier, Camille. *Salon de Paris, 1870*. Paris: Morel, 1870. http://books.google.com/books?id=Ij8GAAAAQAAJ.

Le Roux, Hugues. *Les jeux du cirque et la vie foraine*. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1889.

Lewis, Reina. *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Lipton, Eunice. *Looking Into Degas: Uneasy Images of Women and Modern Life*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

Lott, Eric. *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Loyrette, Henri. *Degas.* Paris: Fayard, 1991.

———."Degas entre Gustave Moreau et Duranty. Notes sur les Portraits 1859-1876." *Revue de l'Art* 86 (1989): 16-27.

Lucassen, Leo, Wim Willems, and Annemarie Cottaar. *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Luxenberg, Alisa. "Over the Pyrenees and Through the Looking-Glass: French Culture Reflected in Its Imagery of Spain." In *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900*, exh. cat., curated by Suzanne L. Stratton, 10-31. New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with The Spanish Institute, 1993.

———.*The Galerie Espagnole and the Museo Nacional 1835-1853: Saving Spanish Art, or the Politics of Patrimony*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.

Magubane, Zine. **"**Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Odyssey of the 'Hottentot Venus.'" *Gender and Society* 15, no. 6 (December 2001): 816-834.

Malik, Kenan. *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Manet, Édouard. *Manet by Himself: Correspondence & Conversation, Paintings, Pastels, Prints & Drawings*. Edited by Juliet Wilson Bareau. Boston: Little, Brown, 1991.

Mantz, Paul. "Exposition universelle. La peinture française." *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18, 2nd per. (October 1, 1878): 417-440.

———."Salon de 1869." *Gazette des beaux-arts* 1, 2nd per. (January-June 1869): 489-511.

Marandel, J. Patrice, and François Daulte. *Frédéric Bazille and Early Impressionism*. Letters of Frédéric Bazille translated by Paula Prokopoff-Giannini. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1978.

Margerie, Laure de, Édouard Papet, Christine Barthe, and Maria Vigli. *Facing the Other: Charles Cordier (1827-1905), Ethnographic Sculptor*, exh. cat., Musée d'Orsay. Translated by Lenora Ammon, Laurel Hirsch, and Clare Palmieri. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2004.

Marriott, David. *On Black Men*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Maupassant, Guy. "Mamma Stirling." In *The Complete Works of Guy Maupassant. Mad and Other Short Stories*, 111-122. Translated by Alfred de Sumichrast, Adolphe Cohn, Henri C. Olinger, Albert M. Cohn-McMaster, and Dora Knowlton Ranous. New York: Leslie-Judge, 1917.

Maury, Alfred. "Les Dégénérescences de l'èspece humaine." *Revue des deux mondes* 25 (January-February 1860): 75-101. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k86961r.image.r=revue+des+deux+mondes.langEN.

Mayall, David. *Gypsy Identities, 1550-2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany*. London: Routledge, 2004.

McCauley, Elizabeth Anne. *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

McClary, Susan. *Georges Bizet: Carmen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

McMullen, Roy. *Degas: His Life, Times, and Work*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.

Menon Elizabeth K. "Decadent Addictions: Tobacco, Alcohol, Popular Imagery, and Café Culture in France." In *In Sickness and In Health: Disease as Metaphor in Art and Popular Wisdom*, edited by Laurinda S. Dixon and Gabriel P. Weisberg, 101-124. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004.

Mercer, Kobena. "Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imaginary." In *The Masculinity Studies Reader*, edited by Rachel Adams and David Savran, 188-200. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

———.*Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions in Black Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Mérimée, Prosper. *Carmen; Arsène Guillot; L'abbé Aubain*. Edited by Maurice Parturier. Paris: Éditions Fernand Roches, 1930.

———.*Carmen and Other Stories*. Translated by Nicholas Jotcham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *The Visible and the Invisible; Followed by Working Notes*. Edited by Claude Lefort. Translated by Alphonso Lingis. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968.

Michel, François-Bernard. *Frédéric Bazille: réflexions sur la peinture, la médecine, le paysage et le portrait, les origines de l'impressionnisme, la vraie nature de Claude Monet, la mélancolie et la société provinciale*. Paris: B. Grasset, 1992.

Michelet, Jules. *Woman*. Translated by John Williamson Palmer. New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1867. Originally published as *La Femme*, Paris: Hachette, 1860. http://books.google.com/books?id=e7BOAAAAMAAJ.

Miller, Christopher L. *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Miller, Toby. "A Short History of the Penis." *Social Text*, no. 43 (Autumn 1995): 1-26.

Mitchell, Dolores. "The 'New Woman' as Prometheus: Women Artists Depict Women Smoking." *Woman's Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 1999): 3-9.

———."Women and Nineteenth-Century Images of Smoking." In *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, edited by Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun, 294-303. London: Reaktion Books, 2004.

Moffett, Charles S., et al. *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886*: *An Exhibition Organized by the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco with the National Gallery of Art, Washington*. San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986.

Mohanram, Radhika. *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Moitt, Bernard. *Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635-1848*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Moreau de Saint-Méry, M. L. E. (Médéric-Louis-Elie). *A Civilization That Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti. A Topographical, Physical, Civil, Political and Historical Description of the French Part of the Island of Santo Domingo.* Translated,

abridged and edited by Ivor D. Spencer. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985.

Morgan, Jennifer L. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Moussa, Sarga, ed. *Le mythe des bohémiens dans la littérature et les arts en Europe*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008.

Murray, Gale B., ed. *Toulouse-Lautrec: A Retrospective*. New York: Hugh Lauter Levin Associates, 1992.

Natanson, Thadée. *Un Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec*. 1951. Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1992.

Nederveen Pieterse, Jan. *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Nelson, Charmaine A. *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Nochlin, Linda. "Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite." In *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*, 141-169. New York: Harper and Row, 1989.

———."The Imaginary Orient." In *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society,* 33-59. New York: Harper and Row, 1989.

———."Impressionist Portraits and the Construction of Modern Identity." In *Renoir's Portraits*: *Impressions of an Age,* edited by Colin B. Bailey, 43-74. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

Nord, Philip. "Manet and Radical Politics." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1989): 447-480.

Northup, George T. "The Influence of George Borrow upon Prosper Mérimée." *Modern Philology* 13, no. 3 (July 1915): 143-156.

Nye, Robert A. *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Ockman, Carol. *Ingres's Eroticized Bodies: Retracing the Serpentine Line*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

O'Grady, Lorraine. "Olympia's Maid: Reclaiming Black Female Subjectivity." In *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Amelia Jones, 174-187. London: Routledge, 2003.

Ortega y Gasset, José. *Invertebrate Spain*. Translated by Mildred Adams. London: Allen and Unwin, 1937.

Osborne, Michael A. *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Peabody, Sue. *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Peabody, Sue, and Tyler Stovall, eds. *The Color of Liberty: Histories of Race in France*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Peltre, Christine. *Orientalism in Art*. Translated by John Goodman. New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.

Penn, W. A. *The Soverane Herbe; A History of Tobacco*. London: Grant Richards, 1901. http://books.google.com/books?id=Ke5uS6SgsKQ.

Perruchot, Henry. "Les Bars de Toulouse-Lautrec." *Le Jardin des Arts* 42 (April 1958): 364-370.

Pichon, Philippe. *Voyage en Tsiganie: enquête chez les nomades en France*. Paris: Les Éditions de Paris, 2002.

Pitman, Dianne W. *Bazille: Purity, Pose, and Painting in the 1860s*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

———."Overlapping Frames." In *Monet & Bazille: A Collaboration*, exh. cat., edited by David A. Brenneman, 19-65. Atlanta, GA: High Museum of Art, 1999.

Poignant, Roslyn. *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

Pollock, Griselda. *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories*. London: Routledge, 1999.

———.*Avant-Garde Gambits, 1888-1893: Gender and the Color of Art History*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993.

Portal, Frédéric de. *Des couleurs symboliques dans l'Antiquité, le Moyen Âge et les Temps modernes*. Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1837. http://books.google.com/books?id=42cAAAAAMAAJ.

Porterfield, Todd B., and Susan L. Siegfried. *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.

Poulain, Gaston. *Bazille et ses amis*. Paris: La Renaissance du livre, 1932.

———."Paul Valéry au Musée Fabre." *Itinéraires* (November 1942).

Powell, Kirsten, and Elizabeth C. Childs. *Femmes d'esprit: Women in Daumier's Caricature*, exh. cat. Middlebury, VT: The Christian A. Johnson Memorial Gallery, Middlebury College, 1990.

Price, Roger. *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Proust, Antonin. *Édouard Manet*: *souvenirs*. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1913.

Quatrefages, Armand de. "Du Croisement des races humanes." *Revue des deux mondes* 8 (March 1, 1857): 159-189. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k86943t.image.r=quatrefages.f2.langEN.

———.*The Human Species*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879. Originally published as *L'espèce humaine*. Paris: Germer-Baillière, 1877. http://books.google.com/books?id=Ec4TAAAAYAAJ.

———.*Unité de l'espèce humaine*. Paris: L. Hachette, 1861. http://books.google.com/books?id=iB22wdV1SU0C.

Quinet, Edgar. *Œuvres Complètes*. Vol. 9, *Mes vacances en Espagne. De l'histoire de la poésie. Des épopées françaises inédites du douzième siècle.* Paris: Pagnerre, 1857.

Quintana, Bertha B., and Lois Gray Floyd. *!Qué Gitano! Gypsies of Southern Spain*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

Reeser, Todd W. *Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Reeser, Todd W., and Lewis Carl Seifert, eds. *Entre Hommes: French and Francophone Masculinities in Culture and Theory*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.

Reff, Theodore. *Degas: The Artist's Mind*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.

Regnault, Félix. "Les Dahoméens au Champ de Mars de Paris." *La Nature* 21, no. 1041 (May 13, 1893): 371-374. http://cnum.cnam.fr/CGI/fpage.cgi?4KY28.40/375/100/530/0/0.

Reilly, Maura, "Le Vice à la Mode: Gustave Courbet and the Vogue for Lesbianism in Second Empire France." PhD. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2000.

Rémy, Tristan. *Les clowns*. Paris: Éditions B. Grasset, 1945.

Rewald, John. *The History of Impressionism*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973.

Reynaud Paligot, Carole. *La république raciale: paradigme racial et idéologie républicaine, 1860-1930*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2006.

Ripley, William Z. *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1899.

Rival, Ned. *Tabac, miroir du temps*. Paris: Perrin, 1981.

Romain, Hippolyte. *Hippolyte Romain présente histoire des bouffons, des Augustes et des clowns: texte, dessins et aquarelles.* Préface de François Bazin. Paris: Éditions Joöelle Losfeld, 1997.

Rony, Fatimah Tobing. "Those Who Squat and Those Who Sit: The Iconography of Race in the 1895 Films of Félix-Louis Regnault." *Camera Obscura* 10, no. 1 28 (January 1992): 262-289.

Roos, Jane Mayo. *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Roquebert, Anne. *Edgar Degas*. Paris: Éditions Cercle d'art, 1988.

Rosenthal, Angela. "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture." *Art History* 27, no. 4 (2004**)**: 563-592.

Rosenthal, Donald A. *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880*, exh. cat. Rochester, NY: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982.

Rouart, Denis, and Daniel Wildenstein. *Édouard Manet: catalogue raisonné*. Vol. 1, *Les Peintures*. Lausanne: Bibliothèque des arts, 1975.

Roy, Joseph-Antoine. *Histoire du Jockey Club de Paris*. Paris: M. Rivière, 1958.

Ruscio, Alain. *Le Credo de l'homme blanc: regards coloniaux français XIXe-XXe siècles*. Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1995.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sanyal, Debarati. *The Violence of Modernity: Baudelaire, Irony, and the Politics of Form*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Sarraute, Gabriel. *Catalogue de l'œuvre de Frédéric Bazille*. Thesis, École du Louvre, 1948.

Schapira, Marie-Claude. “Les Bohémiens de George Borrow: ethnographie et littérature.” In *Le mythe des bohémiens dans la littérature et les arts en Europe*, edited by Sarga Moussa, 107-126. Paris: L’Harmattan, 2008.

Schiebinger, Londa L. *Nature’s Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.

Schiller, Francis. *Paul Broca, Founder of French Anthropology, Explorer of the Brain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Schimmel, Herbert D., ed. *The Letters of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Schneider, William H. “The Ethnographic Exhibitions of the Jardin Zoologique d’Acclimatation.” In *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, edited by Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick, 142-150. Translated by Teresa Bridgeman. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008.

Schulman, Michel. *Frédéric Bazille: 1841-1870: catalogue raisonné, peintures, dessins, pastels, aquarelles: sa vie, son œuvre, sa correspondance*. Paris: Éditions de l’amateur, 1995.

Séailles, Gabriel. *Alfred Dehodencq: histoire d’un coloriste*. Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1885.

Seshadri-Crooks, Kalpana. *Desiring Whiteness: A Lacanian Analysis of Race*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Shapiro, Barbara Stern, Anne E. Havinga, et al. *Pleasures of Paris, Daumier to Picasso*, exh. cat. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts and D.R. Godine, 1991.

Sharpley-Whiting, T. Denean. *Black Venus*: *Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.

Sidlauskas, Susan. *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

——— “Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent’s ‘Madame X.’” *American Art* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 8-33.

Silverman, Kaja. *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Simoën, Jean-Claude. *Le Rire: la belle epoque dans toute sa vérité*. Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1981.

Smalls, James. “‘Race’ As Spectacle in Late-Nineteenth-Century French Art and Popular Culture.” *French Historical Studies* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 351-382.

———.“Slavery is a Woman: ‘Race,’ Gender, and Visuality in Marie Benoist’s *Portrait d’une négresse* (1800).” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2004). http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring04/286-slavery-is-a-woman-race-gender-and-visuality-in-marie-benoists-portrait-dune-negresse-1800.

Snell, Robert. *Théophile Gautier, a Romantic Critic of the Visual Arts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Sollors, Werner, ed. *An Anthology of Interracial Literature: Black-White Contacts in the Old World and the New*. New York: New York University Press, 2004.

———.*Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Spaeight, George. *A History of the Circus*. London: The Tantivy Press, 1980.

Stallybrass, Peter, and Allon White. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Staum, Martin S. *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race and Empire, 1815-1848*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003.

Steele, Valerie. *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded*. New York: Rizzoli, 2002.

———.*Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Berg, 1998.

Stepan, Nancy Leys. “Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science.” *Isis* 77, no. 2 (1986): 261-277.

——— *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960*. London: The Macmillan Press, 1982.

Stevens, Mary Anne, ed. *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse: The Allure of North Africa and the Far East*, exh. cat. London: Royal Academy of Arts in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984.

Stocking, George W., Jr. *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

———.*Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. New York: Free Press, 1968.

Stoichita, Victor I. *A Short History of the Shadow*. London: Reaktion Books, 1997.

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.

———.*Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995.

———."Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth." In *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*, edited by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, 369-391. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Stratton, Suzanne L. *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain, 1800-1900*, exh. cat. New York: The Equitable Gallery in association with the Spanish Institute, 1993.

Sue, Eugène. *The Mysteries of Paris*. Vol. 1. London: Chapman and Hall, 1845. Originally published as *Les mystères de Paris*. Paris: C. Gosselin, 1843. http://books.google.com/books?id=FpoaAAAAYAAJ.

Tabarant, Adolphe. *Manet et ses œuvres*. Paris: Gallimard, 1947.

Taine, Hippolyte. *The Philosophy of Art. Art in the Netherlands*. Translated by John Durand. New York: Leypoldt & Holt, 1871. Originally published as *Philosophie de l'art dans les Pays-Bas*. Paris: G. Baillière, 1869. http://books.google.com/books?id=srhLAAAAMAAJ.

Tait, Peta. *Circus Bodies: Cultural Identity in Aerial Performance*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Thomson, Richard, Phillip Dennis Cate, and Mary Weaver Chapin, with assistance from Florence E. Coman. *Toulouse-Lautrec and Montmartre,* exh. cat. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Thornton, Lynne. *Women as Portrayed in Orientalist Painting*. Paris: ACR Édition, 1985.

Tinterow, Gary, Geneviève Lacambre, and Deborah L. Roldán. *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.

Tinterow, Gary, and Henri Loyrette. *Origins of Impressionism*, exh. cat. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*. Translated by Catherine Porter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

———."'Race,' Writing, and Culture." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., 370-380. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Topinard, Paul. *Anthropology*. Translated by Robert T. H. Bartley. London: Chapman and Hall, 1890. Originally published as *L'anthropologie*. Paris: C. Reinwald, 1876. http://books.google.com/books?id=hLASAAAAYAAJ.

———.*Éléments d'anthropologie générale*. Paris: A. Delahaye et É. Lecrosnier, 1885. http://books.google.com/books?id=JTkaAAAAYAAJ.

———."Les Hottentots au Jardin d'acclimatation de Paris." *La Nature* 16, no. 795 (August 11, 1888): 167-170. http://cnum.cnam.fr/CGI/fpage.cgi?4KY28.31/171/100/432/0/0.

———."Les races humaines." *La Nature* 16, no. 805 (October 27, 1888): 341-343. http://cnum.cnam.fr/CGI/fpage.cgi?4KY28.31/345/100/432/0/0.

Tuana, Nancy, et al., eds. *Revealing Male Bodies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Uzanne, Octave. *Études de sociologie féminine. Parisiennes de ce temps, en leurs divers milieux, états et conditions; études pour servir à l'histoire des femmes, de la société, de la galanterie française, des moeurs contemporaines et de l'égoisme masculin; ménagères, ouvrièrs et courtisanes, bourgeoises et mondaines, artistes et comédiennes*. Paris: Mercure de France, 1910.

———.*Fashion in Paris: The Various Phases of Feminine Taste and Aesthetics from 1797 to 1897*. Translated by Lady Mary Lloyd. London: W. Heinemann; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

———.*The Fan*. London: J.C. Nimmo and Bain, 1884.

———."Les Maitres de L'Estampes et de L'Affliche de M. Toulouse-Lautrec." *Le Monde modern* (January-June 1899): 819-826.

———.*The Modern Parisienne*. With an introduction by the Baroness von Hutten. London: W. Heinemann, 1912.

Vaillant, J. A. *Les Rômes; histoire vraie des vrais Bohémiens*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1857.

Valéry, Paul. *Degas, Manet, Morisot*. Translated by David Paul. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989.

Vaux de Foletier, François de. *Les Bohémiens en France au 19e siècle*. Paris: Lattès, 1981.

———.*Voyages et migrations des Tsiganes en France au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Ass. des études tsiganes, 1973.

Virey, Julien-Joseph. *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*. Vol. 2. 1801. Paris: Crochard, 1824. http://books.google.com/books?id=WwMXAAAAYAAJ.

———.*Natural history of the Negro Race*. Extracted from the French by J. H. Guenebault, Samuel Thomas von Soemmerring. Translated by J. H. Guenebault. Charleston, SC: D.J. Dowling, 1837.

Vogel, Carol. “Abu Dhabi Gets a Sampler of World Art.” *New York Times*, May 29, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/27/arts/design/27louv.html?_r=1&adxnnl=1&emc=eta1&adxnnlx=1295895809-dA7stml5MkSjKllZzMTjJQ.

Wallace, Maurice O. *Constructing the Black Masculine: Identity and Ideality in African American Men’s Literature and Culture, 1775-1995*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Waller, Susan. “Realist Quandaries: Posing Professional and Proprietary Models in the 1860s.” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 2 (2007): 239-265.

———.*The Invention of the Model: Artists and Models in Paris, 1830-1870*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006.

Wheeler, Roxann. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Wiegman, Robyn. *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995.

Willems, Wim. *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*. Translated by Don Bloch. London: F. Cass, 1997.

Williams, Elizabeth A. *A Cultural History of Medical Vitalism in Enlightenment Montpellier*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.

———.*The Physical and the Moral: Anthropology, Physiology, and Philosophical Medicine in France, 1750-1850.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———.“The Science of Man: Anthropological Thought and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France.” PhD diss., Indiana University, 1983.

Willis, Deborah, and Carla Williams. *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.

Yeğenoğlu, Meyda. *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Yeazell, Ruth Bernard. *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

———.“Public Baths and Private Harems: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Origins of Ingres’s *Bain Turc*.” *Yale Journal of Criticism* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 111-138.

Young, Robert J. C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. London: Routledge, 1995.

———.*White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2004.

———."The Void of Misgiving." In *Communicating in the Third Space*, edited by Karin Ikas and Gerhard Wagner, 81-95. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Zola, Émile. *Ecrits sur l'art*. Edited by Jean-Pierre Leduc-Adine. Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

———.*Nana*. Translated by Douglas Parmée. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

———.*Thérèse Raquin*. Translated by Robin Buss. London: Penguin, 2004.

Figure 1. Frédéric Bazille (1841-1870), *La Toilette*, 1869-1870, oil on canvas, 132 x 127 cm. Inv. 18-1-23. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France. Photo: Bulloz. Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 2. Edgar Degas (1834-1917), *Portrait of Madame Camus*, 1869-1870, oil on canvas, 72.7 x 92.1 cm. Chester Dale Collection. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

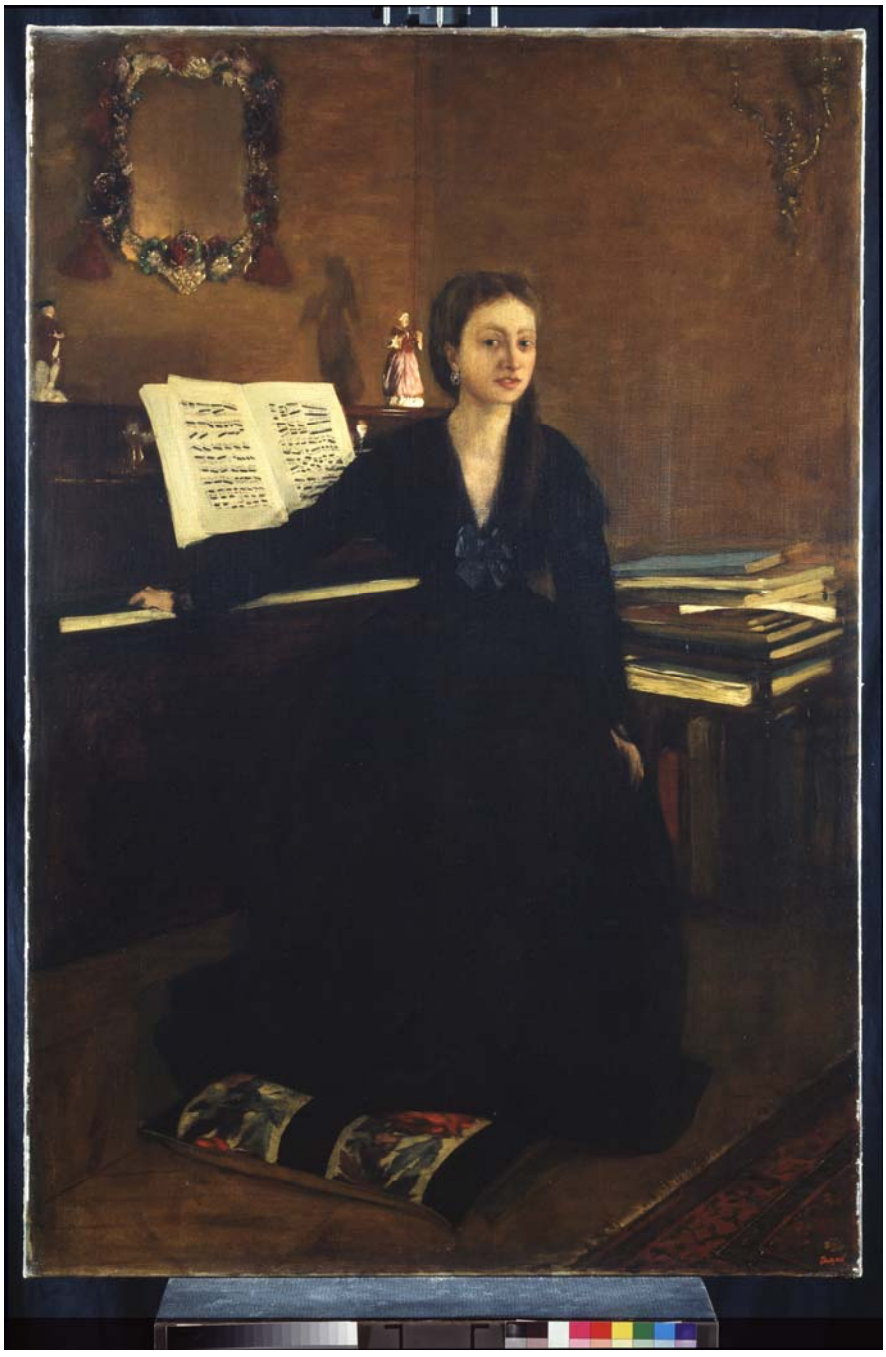

Figure 3. Edgar Degas, *Madame Camus at the Piano*, 1869, oil on canvas, 139 x 94 cm. Lemoisne no. 211. Foundation E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich, Switzerland.

Figure 4. Edgar Degas, *Portrait of Mme Lisle and Mme Loubens*, 1866-1870, oil on canvas, 84 x 96.6 cm. Gift of Annie Laurie Ryerson in memory of Joseph Turner Ryerson, 1953.335. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 5. Edgar Degas, Study for the *Portrait of Madame Camus*, 1869-1870, pencil and charcoal, 3 x 4.4 cm.

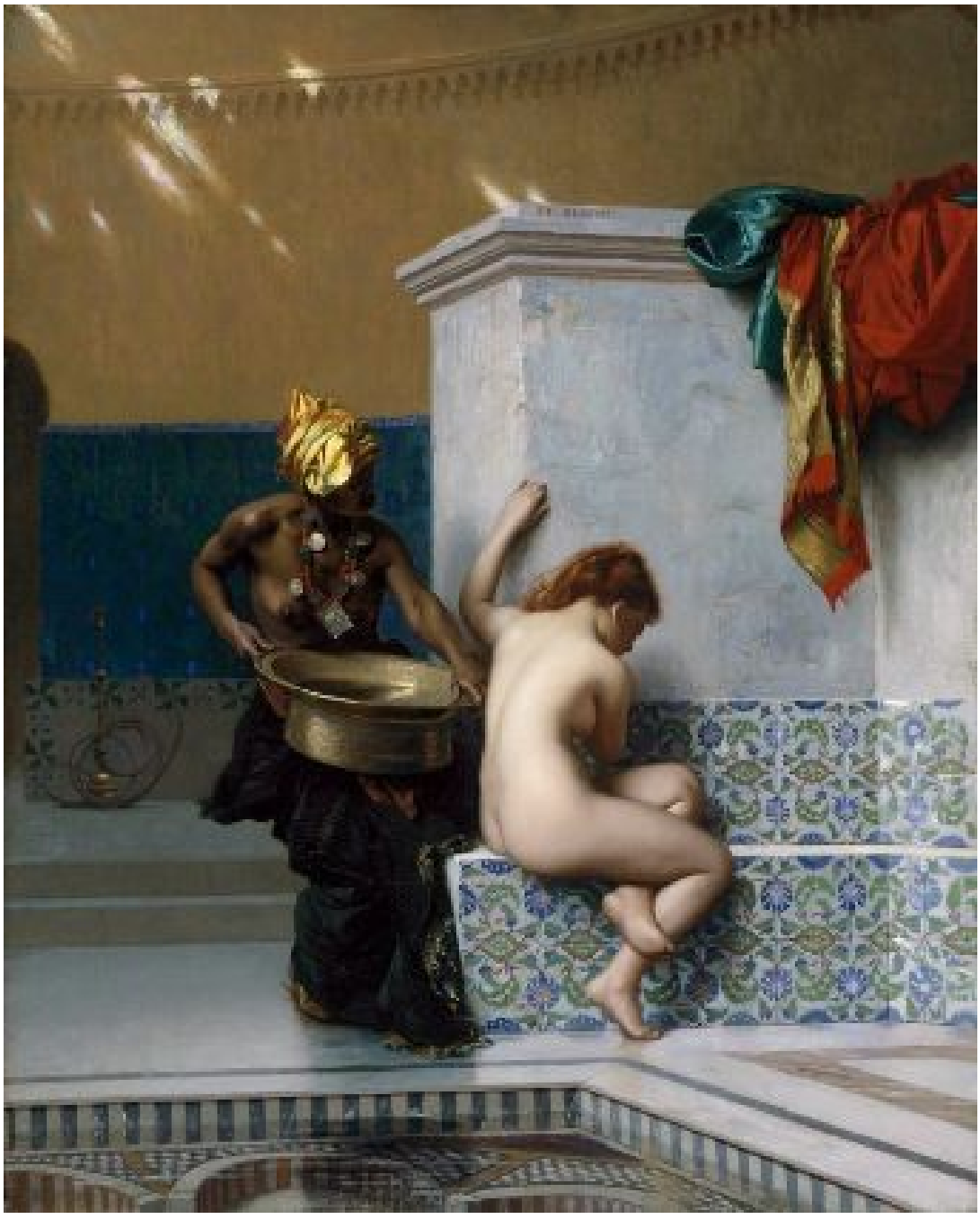

Figure 6. Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), *Moorish Bath*, 1870, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40.6 cm. Gift of Robert Jordan from the collection of Eben D. Jordan 24.217. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 7. Edgar Degas, *Courtyard of a House* (*New Orleans, Sketch*), 1873, oil on canvas, 60 x 73.5 cm. Ordrupgaard, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 8. Adolph von Menzel (1815-1905), *Die Zulus*, 1850-1852, watercolor and gouache, 27.8 x 30.3 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 9. Jules Cheret (1836-1932), *Les Zoulous aux Folies-Bergère*, poster, 1878, 58 x 43 cm. Musée de la Publicité, Paris.

Figure 10. Charles Cordier (1827-1905), *African of the Sudan or African in Algerian Costume*, 1857, bust in bronze, onyx and Vosges porphyry, h. 96, w. 66, d. 36 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo Credit: Scala / Art Resource, NY.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 11. Anonymous, *Chanel model with male torchère*, photograph, n.d.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 12. Charles Cordier, *Atlantes*, 1855-1859, bronze and onyx, Château de Ferrières, Ferrières en Brie, Seine-et-Marne, France.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 13. Félix Jacques Antoine Moulin (1802-1875?), *Études photographiques* (*Study: Seduction*), 1852, salt print photograph, 3.56 x 2.71 cm. Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Bibliothéque nationale de France, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 14. Honoré Daumier (1808-1879), *Au Camp de St. Maur*, no. 2, published in *Le Charivari* (August 15, 1859). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 15. Edgar Degas, *Interior*, 1868-1869, oil on canvas, 81.3 x 114.3 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 16. Berthe Morisot (1841-1895), *At the Ball*, 1875, oil on canvas, 62 x 52 cm. Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris.

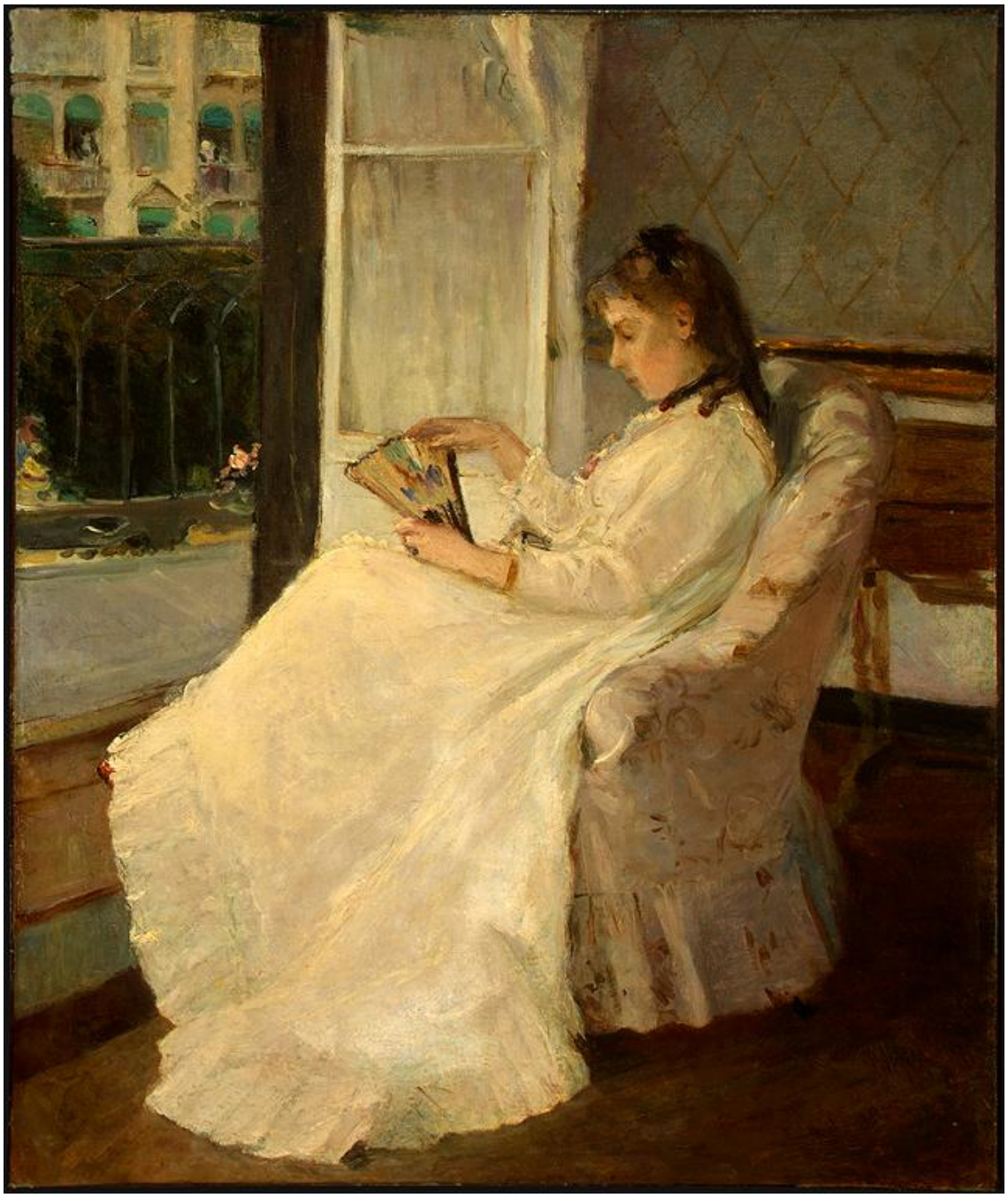

Figure 17. Berthe Morisot, *The Artist's Sister at a Window*, 1869, oil on canvas, 54.8 x 46.3 cm. Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 18. Edgar Degas, *Woman Seated on a Balcony, New Orleans* (*probably Mathilde Bell, born Musson*), 1872-1873, pastel on paper mounted on canvas, 64 x 76 cm. Ordrupgaard, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 19. Elvina Kidder, *Open Frond Palmetto Fan*, n.d. Arnaudville, St. Landry Parish, Louisiana.

Figure 20. Édouard Manet (1832-1883), *Gypsy with a Cigarette*, c. 1862, oil on canvas, 92.0 x 73.5 cm (36 1/4 x 28 15/16 in.). Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of Archibald S. Alexander, Class of 1928. y1979-55. Photo: Bruce M. White.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 21. Édouard Manet, *Les Gitanos*, 1862, etching, 2nd state, 28.5 x 20.6 cm. Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 22. Édouard Manet, *Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume* (*Jeune femme allongée en costume espagnol*), 1862, oil on canvas, 95 x 113 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. Bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903.

Figure 23. Édouard Manet, *Mlle V… in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862, oil on canvas, 65 x 50 1/4 in (165.1 x 127.6 cm.). H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929 (29.100.53). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 24. Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862, oil on canvas, 123 x 92 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

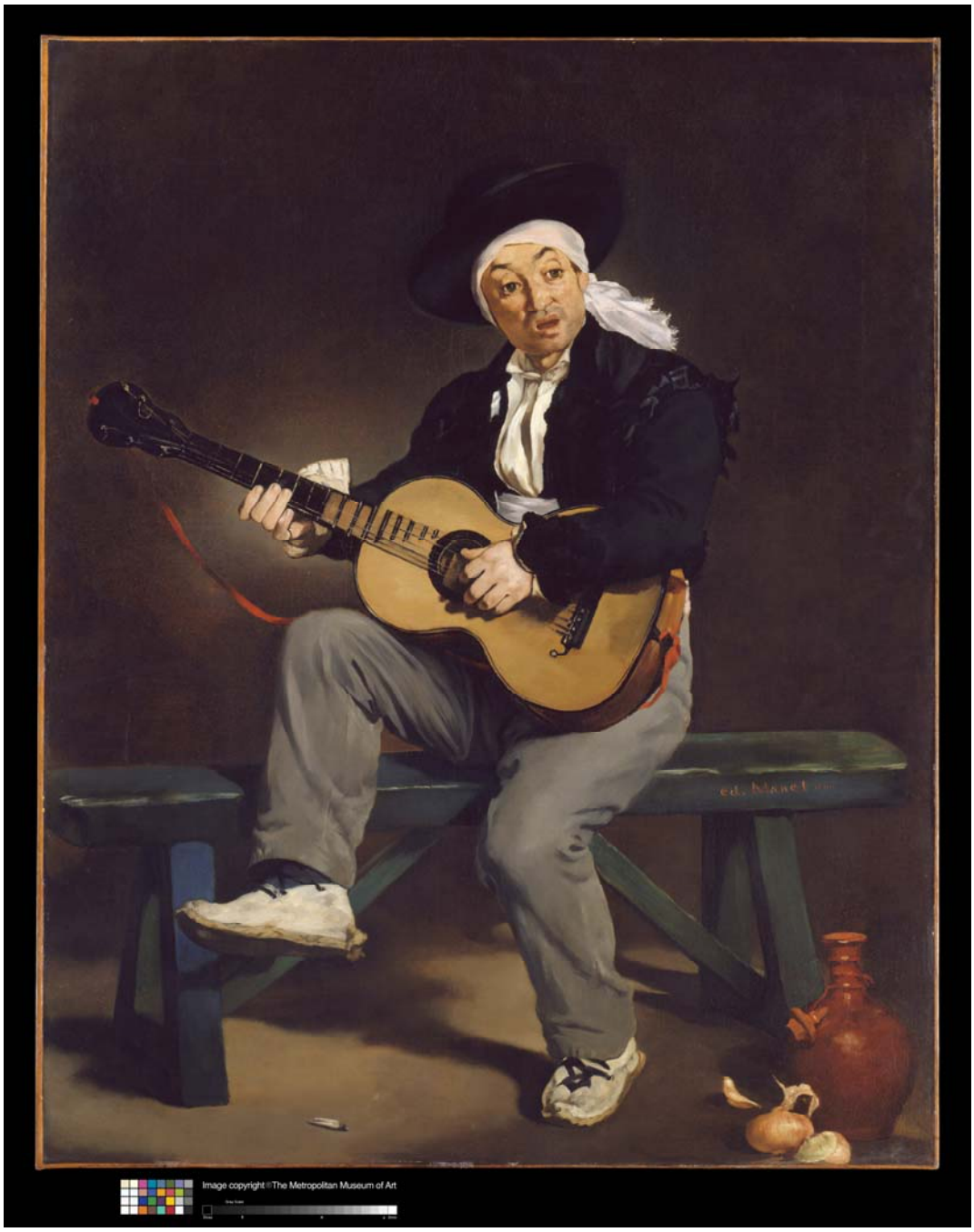

Figure 25. Édouard Manet, *The Spanish Singer*, 1860, oil on canvas, 58 x 45 in (147.3 x 114.3 cm.). Gift of William Church Osborn, 1949 (49.58.2). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 26. Alfred Dehodencq (1822-1882), *A Gypsy Dance in the Gardens of the Alcázar in Front of the Pavilion of Charles V*, c. 1852, oil on canvas, 111.5 x 161.5 cm. The Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid, Spain.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 27. Eugène Giraud (1806-1881), *Danse dans une posada de Grenade*, 1852, oil on canvas, 153 x 220 cm. Musée des Beaux Arts, Soissons, France.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 28. Gustave Doré (1832-1883), *Gitana dansant* (*environs de Séville*), wood engraving, published in *Le Tour du monde*, 1866.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 29. Gustave Doré, *Toilette d'une gitana à Diezma*, wood engraving, published in *Le Tour du monde*, 1864.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 30. Gustave Doré, *Famille de musiciens nomades*, wood engraving, published in *Le Tour du monde*, 1864.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 31. Charles Auguste Steuben (1788-1856), *Esméralda*, 1839, oil on canvas, 195 x 144 cm. Musée des Beaux Arts, Nantes, France.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 32. Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796-1875), *Gypsy Girl at a Fountain*, 1865-1870, oil on canvas, 58.1 x 42.9 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 33. Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), *Réverie Tsigane*, 1869, oil on canvas, 50.3 x 61 cm. The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 34. Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence* (with the quatrain by Baudelaire), 1863, etching and aquatint, 3rd state, 23.5 x 16.1 cm. Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 35. Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence* (title of the serenade, poem, and music by Zacharie Astruc), 1863, lithograph, 19.5 x 18.5 cm. Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 36. Paul Gavarni (1804-1866), *La Lorette*, 1842, woodblock. Published in Charles-Paul de Kock, *La grande ville: nouveau tableau de Paris: comique, critique et philosophique*, vol. 2, 1842.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 37. Anonymous, *Scenes and Types–Moorish Woman*, photo postcard, early twentieth century. Collection of Malek Alloula.

Figure 38. Édouard Manet, *The Old Musician*, 1862, oil on canvas, 187.4 x 248.2 cm. Chester Dale Collection. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 39. Frédéric Bazille, *Négresse aux pivoines* (*African woman with peonies*), 1870, oil on canvas, 60 x 75 cm. Inv 18-1-3. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France. Photo: Daniel Arnaudet. Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 40. Frédéric Bazille, *Young Woman with Peonies*, 1870, oil on canvas, 60 x 75 cm. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 41. Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), *Women of Algiers in their Apartment*, 1849, oil on canvas, 84 x 111 cm. Inv. 868.1.38. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France. Photo: Philipp Bernard. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

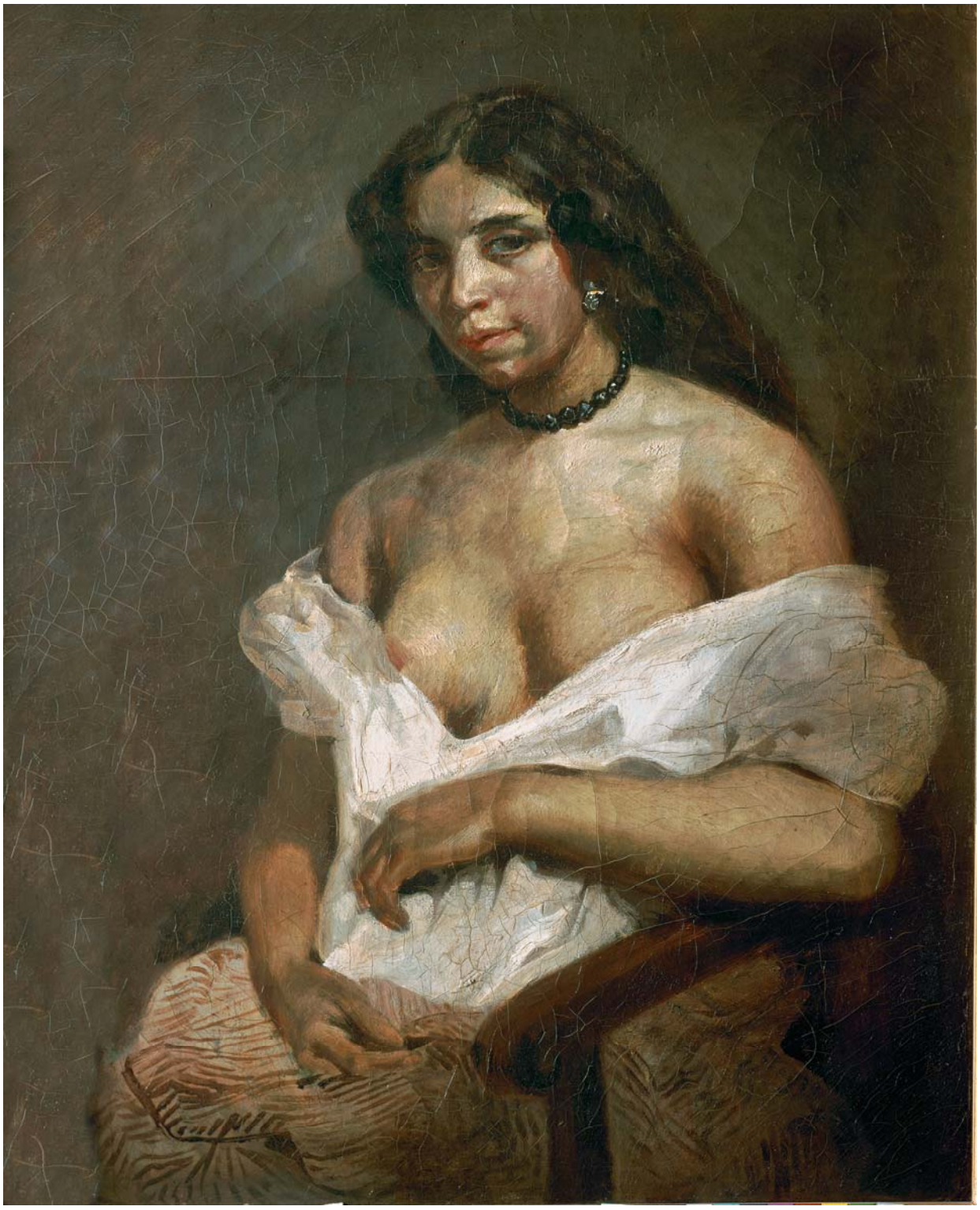

Figure 42. Eugène Delacroix, *Portrait d'Aspasie* (*Mulatto Woman*), 1824, oil on canvas, 81 x 65 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 43. Gustave Courbet, *The Bathers*, 1853, oil on canvas, 227 x 193 cm. Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France.

Figure 44. Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863-1865, oil on canvas, 130.5 x 190.0 cm. Inv. RF 2772. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 45. Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), *Odalisque*, 1870, oil on canvas, 69.2 x 122.6 cm. Chester Dale Collection. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 46. Frédéric Bazille, Study for *La Toilette and Two Figures*, 1869-1870, charcoal on paper, 24.9 x 34.6 cm. Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Figure 47. Frédéric Bazille, *L'Atelier de la rue de La Condamine* (*The Artist's Studio at 9 Rue de la Condamine in Paris*), 1870, oil on canvas, 98 x 128.5 cm. Inv. RF2449. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Photo: Herve Lewandowski. Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 48. Théodore Chassériau (1819-1856), *Bain au sérail* (*Bath at the Seraglio*), 1849, oil on wood, 50 x 32 cm. RF3885. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo: Daniel Arnaudet. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 49. Édouard Bernard Debat-Ponsan (1847-1913), *Le massage*: *Scène de hammam*, 1883, oil on canvas, 50 x 82 3/4 in (127 x 210 cm.). Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, France. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.

Figure 50. Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), *Female Model*, c. 1867-1869, oil on canvas, 23 x 19 3/4 in (58.4 x 50.2 cm.). Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Museum purchase, Mildred Anna Williams Collection, 1966.41.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 51. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), *Le Bain turc*, 1862, oil on wood, 108 x 110 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 52. Jules-Robert Auguste (1789-1850), *Les amies*, 1820s, watercolor and gouache on parchment, 22.7 x 26.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 53. François-Léon Benouville (1821-1859), *Esther*, 1844, oil on canvas, 142 x 162 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau, France. Formerly known as *Odalisque.*

Copyrighted Image

Figure 54. Henri Gerbault (1863-1930), *Footitt et Chocolat du Nouveau-Cirque*, color lithograph, late nineteenth century. Bibliothéque nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 55. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901), *Chocolat dansant dans un bar,* published in *Le Rire*, no. 73 (March 28, 1896), lithographic reproduction of a photo relief print in tan, blue, yellow, red, and black on grayish wove chine, 24.0 x 21.2 cm (image); 42.0 x 31.9 cm (sheet). Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison Collection, RX20769/36. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 56. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Chocolat dansant dans un bar,* published in *Le Rire*, no. 73 (March 28, 1896).

Copyrighted Image

Figure 57. Jules-Abel Faivre (1867-1945), *Le Courrier de la Mode*, published in *Le Rire*, no. 270 (January 6, 1900).

Copyrighted Image

Figure 58. Émile Lévy, *Le Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation, Achantis*, 1887, color lithograph, 130 x 96 cm. Département des Estampes et de la photographie. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 59. Georges Goursat, called Sem (1863-1934), *Footitt, La Revue des Folies-Bergère*, 1906, color lithograph, 130 x 194 cm. Département des Arts du spectacle. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 60. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Footit et Chocolat*, 1894, published in *NIB, La Revue blanche* 39 (January 1, 1895), printed 1939, lithograph (crayon transfer) in black on cream wove paper, 23.6 x 29.6 cm (image); 28.35 x 38.3 cm (sheet). Gift of Carl O. Schniewind, 1941.1067a. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 61. Photographie Walery, Paris, *Footitt et Chocolat*, photograph, c. 1900. Département des Arts du spectacle. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 62. Photographie Charlot et Camus, Paris, *Footitt et Chocolat*, photograph, c. 1900. Département des Arts du Spectacle. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 63. Photographie de Guy, *Footit et Chocolat*, n.d. Cover for *Les Memoires de Footit et Chocolat* by Franc-Nohain.

Figure 64. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Circus:* '*Chocolat*,' 1899, black and colored chalk, touches of gouache, on paper, 9 15/16 x 14 in (25.3 x 35.5 cm.). (c) Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts, USA, 1955.1428.

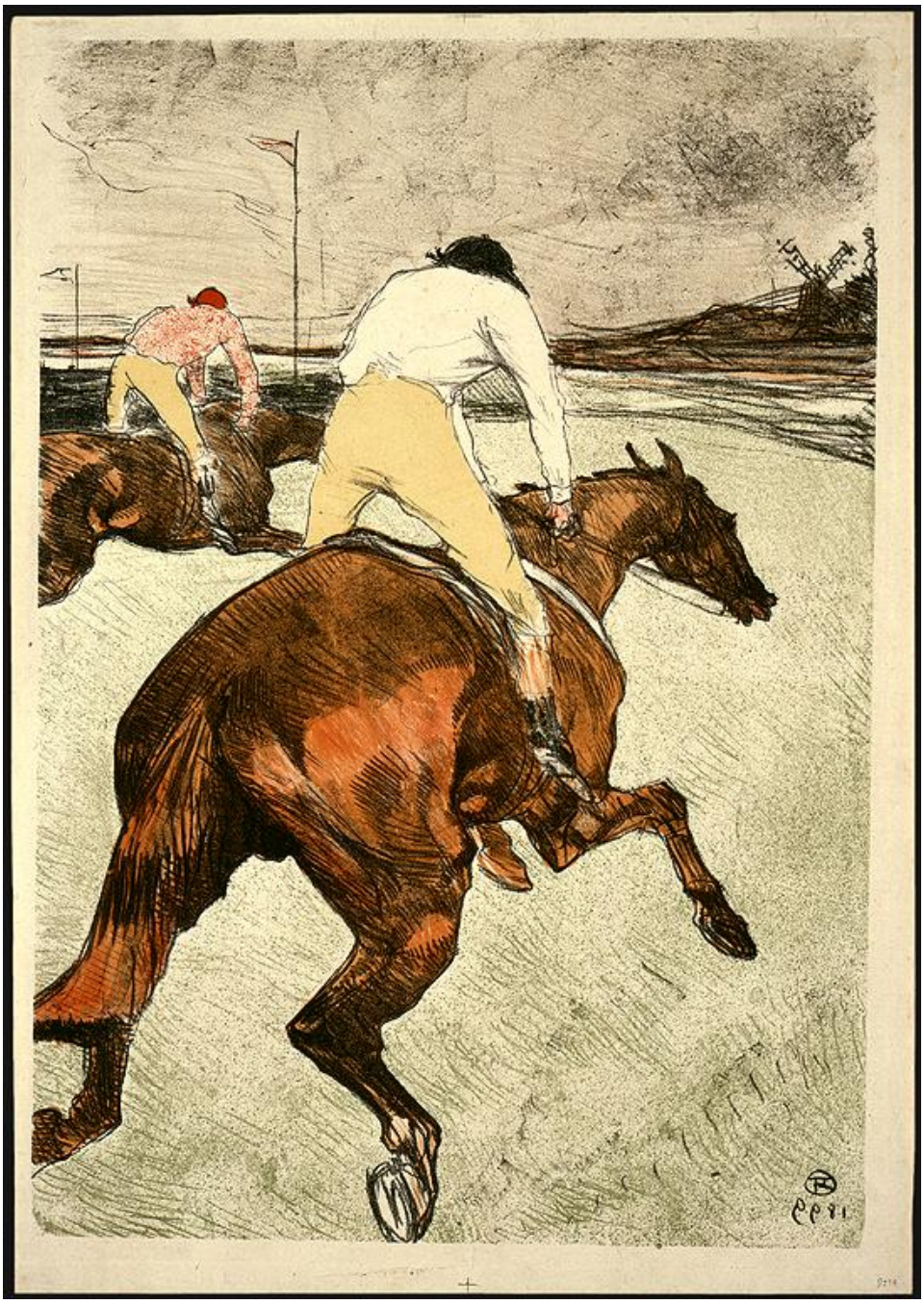

Figure 65. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *The Jockey* (*Le jockey*), 1899, color lithograph, 51.8 x 36.1 cm (image); 55 x 38.9 cm (sheet). Rosenwald Collection. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Figure 66. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Moulin Rouge, La Goulue*, 1891, lithograph in black, yellow, red and blue on three sheets of tan wove paper, 189 x 115.7 cm (image); 191 x 117 cm (sheet). Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison Collection, 1954.1193. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 67. Gustave Caillebotte (1848-1894), *Man at his Bath*, 1884, oil on canvas, 144.8 x 114.3 cm. National Gallery, London.

Figure 68. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Bruant at the Mirliton*, 1893, lithograph, with scraping on stone, in black, olive green and red, with text added in another hand and printed in olive green, on tan wove paper, 82.1 x 58.7 cm (image); 82.3 x 60.9 cm (sheet). Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison Collection, 1949.1101. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

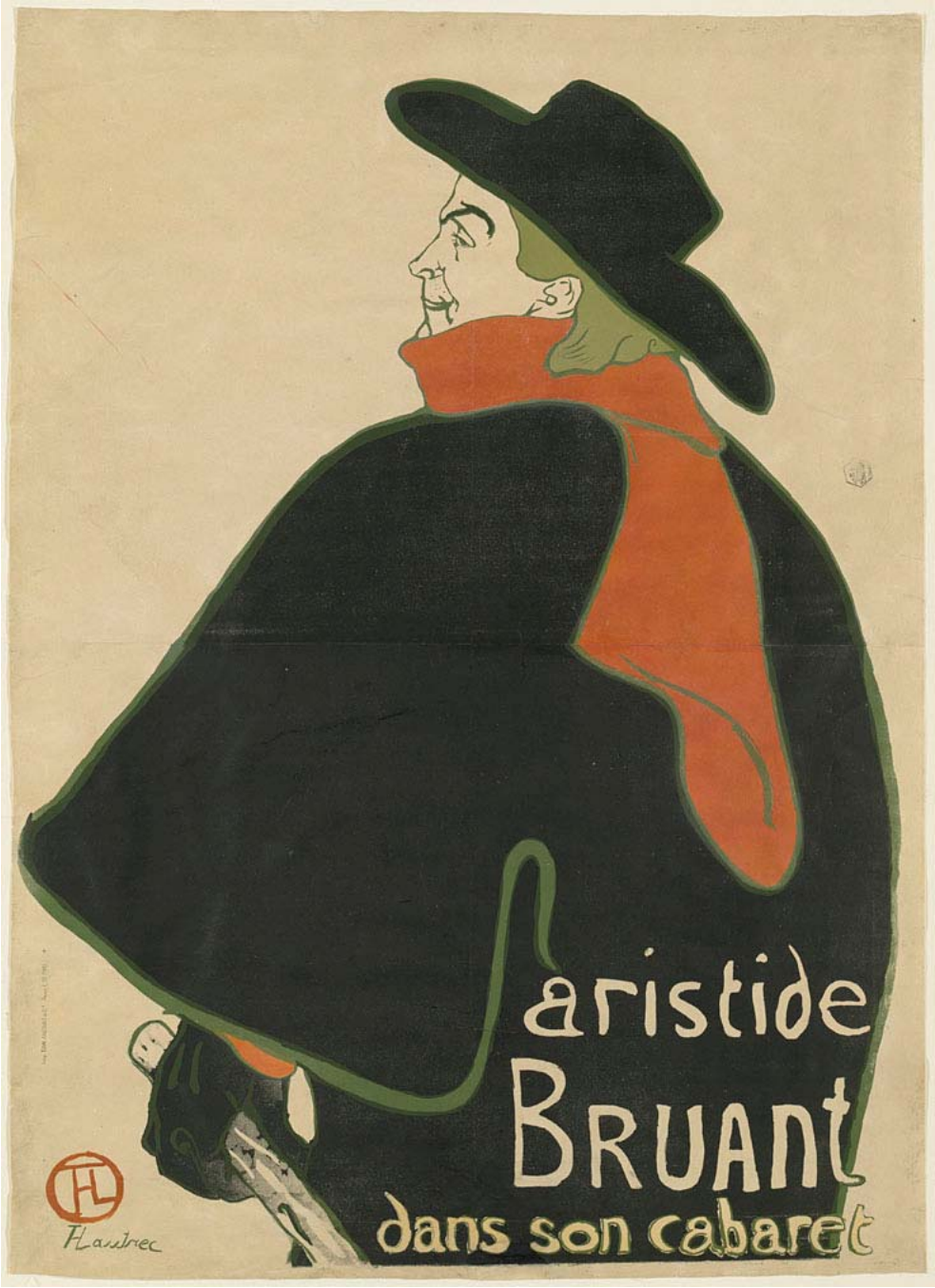

Figure 69. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Aristide Bruant dans son cabaret* (*Aristide Bruant, in His Cabaret*), 1893, lithograph in black, olive-green, red and brown on buff wove paper, 127.3 x 94 cm (image); 138 x 99.1 cm (sheet, sight). Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison Collection, 1949.1005. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 70. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Gabriel Tapié de Céleyran dans un couloir de théâtre*, 1893-1894, oil on canvas, 110 x 56 cm. Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, Albi, France.

Copyrighted Image

Figure 71. *Musiciens Dahoméens au Champ de Mars, à Paris*, photograph published in *La Nature*, 21, no. 1041 (May 13, 1893).

Copyrighted Image

Figure 72. Jules-Abel Faivre, *Ciel! mon mari … C'est vous le nègre? Continuez …*, published in *Le Rire*, no. 303 (August 25, 1905).

Figure 73. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *La Macarona in the Costume of a Jockey*, 1893, oil paint and watercolor, over charcoal, on tan wove tracing paper, laid down on cream woodpulp card, 61.9 x 48.7 cm. Gift of Mrs. Leigh B. Block, 1954.22. The Art Institute of Chicago. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.